International Review

CHANGES IN CAPITALISM DURING THE WAR

E. VARGA

THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

G. DIMITROFF

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CHANGES IN CAPITALISM DURING THE WAR

BY E. VARGA

FOR the second time in a quarter of a century the imperialist bourgeoisie is driving millions of proletarians to mutual slaughter, driving the population of whole continents into starvation and untold suffering. The big bourgeoisie has inflicted this disaster upon mankind not by their own "free will," not because of a whim, but in obedience to the inexorable laws of imperialism, which make wars for the redivision of the world inexorable.

Remembering what occurred during and after the first imperialist war, the big bourgeoisie, or at all events, the wisest of its representatives, is well aware of the dangers for capitalist society involved in the second imperialist war, particularly in the vanquished countries. It is mobilizing all its forces and is waging a struggle on two fronts: against the external enemy—its imperialist rivals—and against "the enemy at home"—the revolutionary working class, the masses of the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. This double task entails changes in the economics and politics of present-day capitalism, which to a far larger extent than in the first World War is being, as Lenin said, *transformed from monopoly capitalism into monopoly war-state capitalism.*

Lenin described this state monopoly capitalism as follows:

". . . state monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for Socialism, the *prelude* to Socialism, a rung in the ladder of history between which and the rung called Socialism *there are no intermediate rungs.*" (*Lenin-Stalin, 1917*, p. 452.)

Let us examine the main trends of the changes in capitalist economy in this second imperialist war.

The present war is causing a general diminution in real wealth in the belligerent countries far more rapidly than the World War did. This is due to the following reasons:

The present war is a "total war" to a far larger extent than the World War was. The war is not being waged only against the enemy's army and navy, but also against his economic resources, and against the whole people. The devastation caused by aerial warfare, which is assuming ever greater importance in modern war, is greatly accelerating this process of impoverishment. On the other

hand, the war is being waged not only by armies, navies and air forces, but literally by the whole people. The activities of the workers in the factories, the peasants in the fields, the scientists in their laboratories and the housewives in their kitchens, are all subordinated to the war. All of them, in their way, are contributing either to success or failure in the war.

The present war is much more costly than the first World War. It costs ever so much more in the present war to equip an army which now needs tanks, trucks and aircraft, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, and vast quantities of machine-guns and automatic rifles. Not only are armies more heavily armed, but the weapons themselves cost more than they did in the World War, not only in money,* but also in labor time. The cost of producing a battleship, a gun, a tank or an airplane** is many times higher than it was in the first imperialist war. This means that a much larger part of the labor product in the belligerent countries assumes the form of war materials of every kind and, consequently, a much smaller amount is left available to replace used up capital and to supply the individual needs of the civilian population. This gives rise in the belligerent countries to the necessity of constantly increasing state control of capitalist economy.

If the bourgeois state, which represents the class interests of the big bourgeoisie as a whole, allowed the capitalist system to run its own way during the war, if it did not deeply penetrate into the process of capitalist production with a view to controlling it, the following would result. The prices of all commodities would rapidly rise. The limited supplies of consumers' goods would be largely bought up and hoarded by the well-to-do classes. The labor power of the industrial workers, the regular reproduction of which is essential for the continuous production of all war materials, could not be maintained owing to the malnutrition of the workers. Output would rapidly sink, and this would mean defeat in the war and the acceleration of the revolutionary crisis at home.

It is therefore in the interests of the big bourgeoisie to ration, at prices fixed by the state, the limited available quantities of consumers' goods among the working people commensurate with the importance of the work they are doing for the conduct of the war. Workers engaged on heavy work get more meat and fats than other workers, and those engaged on the heaviest work get more than those engaged in heavy work.

This "fair" distribution of consumers' goods also serves to combat the "enemy at home," since it is drilled into the workers' minds that "all citizens equally bear the burdens of the war" and that as far as the distribution of food is concerned the workers even have

* At the end of 1940 England's expenditure amounted to £12,000,000 per day. Germany's expenditure—if we take the increase in the national debt and two-thirds of the revenues from taxation as war expenditure—amounts to from five to five and a half billion marks per month.

** Information from various sources clearly indicates that the average cost of the airplanes that Great Britain buys in the United States is no less than $100,000 each.

priority over the well-to-do classes. But the bourgeoisie can satisfy its requirements by purchasing the available supplies of the more costly articles of food, such as game, poultry, fruit, choice vegetables, etc., the sale of which is not controlled, and which the workers cannot afford to buy. As for clothes, underclothing, footwear, etc., the bourgeoisie always have supplies to last them for many years.

If the capitalist state did not intervene in the distribution of raw materials in the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole these raw materials, in consequence of the anarchy of the capitalist market, would be bought up by those capitalist firms that could pay the highest price for them. Enterprises that are directly or indirectly of the highest importance for the conduct of the war might be left without raw materials. That is why the state in all belligerent countries controls raw materials* and distributes them among the capitalist enterprises commensurate with their importance for the conduct of the war.**

This state control of raw materials is at the same time an important method of increasing the power of capitalist monopoly at the expense of the medium and small enterprises, and particularly of the small artisans, who as a consequence of the shortage of raw materials brought about by the war are compelled to give up their—often fictitious—independence and become wage-workers.

If the bourgeois state allowed the economy of the country to run its own way during the war the available means of production in the country would be used to manufacture goods that were useless, or of minor use, for war purposes. The present total war, however, demands that the whole productive capacity of the country be adapted to war purposes, the more so that, if the war lasts a long time, the normal replacement of used up fixed capital will become impossible. That is why the state in the belligerent countries controls the utilization of the means of production in the interests of the big bourgeoisie as a whole, and decides which articles, and in which quantities, shall be produced in the different enterprises.

The present total war is causing a shortage of labor, particularly of skilled metal workers. If the state in the belligerent countries allowed the customary anarchy to prevail on the labor market the capitalist employers would entice workers away from each other by the offer of higher wages. This would be neither in the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, nor guarantee continuity in the production of war materials. That is why workers are prohibited from changing their

---

* The control and distribution of raw materials extends not only to newly produced materials, but also to old materials that can be temporarily or permanently diverted from their hitherto peaceful uses. The iron gates and fences of parks and gardens, copper and aluminum domestic utensils, church bells, etc., are mobilized for war purposes no less than wastepaper, waste textile fabrics, etc.

** The only exception is the United States, where, owing to the abundance of raw materials in the country, state control has not been established. The state confines itself to importing and storing large quantities of materials that are essential for war purposes and are totally lacking, or scarce, in the country. Among these are tin, manganese, copper, antimony, etc.

jobs, and why the state is distributing labor power.

For the same reason the state is controlling the transport system: allocating the available shipping for transporting cargoes that are most important for the conduct of the war, controlling railways and motor transport, controlling exports and imports, etc.

The machinery of state control in wartime—once it is set in motion in one sphere of economic life—must necessarily extend to other spheres until the whole capitalist economy is brought under state control, and monopoly capitalism is transformed into monopoly war state capitalism.

* * *

The need for state capitalism in the belligerent countries is increased by the break-up of capitalist world economy into a few large and more or less isolated parts. The continent of Europe is cut off from the overseas countries. Japan and her colonies and occupied territories are becoming more and more isolated from the rest of the capitalist world. This breakdown of international commercial intercourse, which is making itself felt in Europe, too (Great Britain is cut off from the Scandinavian countries, which used to supply her with timber, cellulose, paper, butter, bacon and iron ore; hence the shortage of these articles in Great Britain and the superfluous stocks of timber, cellulose and paper in the Scandinavian countries), increases the necessity of state control of the short, or overabundant, supplies of goods.

Consequently, the development of state monopoly in wartime is *not* confined to the belligerent countries, but extends also to the neutral countries. Cut off from their usual export and import markets, restricted by the economic war regulations in the big capitalist countries, and their economy dislocated by extensive armaments and partial mobilization, the neutral capitalist countries are also compelled to introduce state control and to ration the consumers' goods of which there is a shortage.

For other reasons state intervention takes place in the overseas agrarian countries. In Argentina the state buys maize at 45 pesos per ton and sells it to the railways at 20 pesos per ton to be used as fuel instead of coal, because it is now difficult to obtain coal from Europe. In that country there are superfluous stocks of flax seed, in Brazil there are superfluous stocks of coffee, etc.

The war monopoly state capitalism of the big imperialist countries is not confined to its own countries, but extends to other countries in various ways. For example, the British government has bought the whole of the wool clip in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, the whole of the cotton crop in Egypt, the whole of the cocoa crop in the French colonies that are controlled by de Gaulle, etc. The economy of the United States is being largely adjusted to meet Great Britain's war requirements. Germany not only controls the economy of the occupied territories, but exercises far-reaching influence on the econ-

omy of countries like Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania. She enters into contracts with those countries for the cultivation and delivery of oilseeds at prices fixed beforehand by the respective governments, for the delivery of ores, hogs, etc. The governments also make mutual arrangements as to the kinds and price of manufactured goods Germany is to deliver in payment, and also the rates of exchange of their currency.

The organization of war monopoly state capitalism calls for an immense increase in the state apparatus. Millions of people are withdrawn from the sphere of production to arrange for and control the purchase and distribution of foodstuffs, raw materials, manufactured consumers' goods, machinery, transport facilities and labor power. Thus the state control of capitalist economy, which necessarily arises in order rationally to direct the inadequate supplies of the elements of capitalist production into the channels necessary for conducting the war, dialectically becomes a factor in the further impoverishment of the country.

Under war monopoly state capitalism the power of the state apparatus over the individual worker is almost unlimited. The state apparatus decides where the worker shall work, how long he shall work, how much he shall be paid, how much and what he shall eat, what he should or should not read, what he should or should not hear over the radio, what he may talk about, and what he must remain silent about. This power also extends over the peasants, the artisans, the small shopkeeper, and over all working people. The big bourgeoisie uses this apparatus to strengthen its power over the working people and to safeguard its profits.

In order to counteract the growing discontent of the masses the cry has been raised in many countries that this time the bourgeoisie must not make any war profits; war profits must be taxed 100 per cent; dividends must be kept within pre-war limits, etc. Needless to say, the big bourgeoisie, which controls the state apparatus, has numerous ways and means of circumventing these laws that are passed to pacify the working people.

The state capitalist organization has been built up much faster in this war than it was in the first World War. In the last war the statesmen in the belligerent countries banked on a short war; they had not yet gained experience and slowly groped their way in the dark. In the present war, they are being guided by the experience of the first World War and are making the changes much more systematically, quickly and determinedly.

The leadership and personnel of the controlling apparatus are not quite the same in all countries. In the United States and Great Britain big capitalist magnates are openly at the head of all the most important war economic state capitalist organizations: Knudsen, former director of General Motors in the United States, Lord Beaverbrook, and others, in Great Britain. To weaken the resistance of the workers to the oppression of the state capital-

ist apparatus reformist trade union leaders and labor politicians were extensively brought into this apparatus: Bevin, Attlee, Greenwood and Morrison in Great Britain, and Hillman in America. The "theory," familiar to us from the World War, that war-state capitalism is a step in the transition to socialism, is "war socialism," has been revived and put into circulation. Taught by their experience of the last World War, however, the masses of the workers in the capitalist countries will have nothing to do with this "theory."

In some countries the apparatus of state capitalism differs somewhat from that in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The capitalists themselves remain more in the background and push the military and professional politicians, the majority of whom have risen to the position of the big bourgeoisie, into the foreground. Instead of reformist leaders it is these representatives of the ruling party known to the workers who are performing the function of adjusting the working class and all working people to the requirements of the war and to the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Thus, all along the line we see the twofold function of war monopoly state capitalism: to organize and centralize all the economic resources of the country for war against the external enemy; and to organize all the forces of the bourgeoisie and of its state against the "enemy at home," against the revolutionary working class and the masses of the working people.

Important though the role of the present war in the development of state capitalism may be, it would be quite wrong to attribute this development entirely to the war. Its roots lie far deeper. The war is merely accelerating and extending the trends that have been operating throughout the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

The methods by which the bourgeoisie utilizes the state have undergone considerable change since the bourgeoisie has been in power.

At the time when, with the assistance of the masses of the working people, the bourgeoisie overthrew the feudal state and released the productive forces of society from the fetters of feudalism, it restricted the functions of the state mainly to the protection of private property. This was the period of the predominance of the "Manchester School," of free trade, when the theory that predominated among the bourgeoisie was that the state must not interfere in capitalist economy. This was the period of the rapid expansion of capitalist markets, when the contradiction between the unlimited tendency of capital to expand and the relatively limited consuming capacity of capitalist society found expression in periodical crises of overproduction. On the whole, in this period, capital could find extensive investment without the direct assistance of the state.

With the development of monopoly capitalism, the contradiction between the tendency of capital to expand and the limited consuming capacity of society has asserted itself more sharply and permanently. The

bourgeoisie cannot eliminate this contradiction on a general, world scale; but the bourgeoisie in each capitalist country has tried to utilize the state as a means of eliminating it within its own territories. The theories of the "Manchester School" gave way to the "theory" that the state must protect the economy of the country. This explains the efforts of the state to protect the home market by means of high tariffs, by monopolizing colonial markets for home industries, state subsidized dumping, etc.

In the period of the general crisis of capitalism the contradiction between the tendency of capital to expand and the limited consuming capacity has become still more acute and chronic. The cyclical process of capitalist reproduction has been disturbed. The crises of overproduction have become very deep and acute; they are followed by long periods of depression; the economic revival is tardy and periods of boom hardly occur.

The bourgeoisie is no longer capable of utilizing the available means of production to their full capacity; a very large part of fixed capital remains permanently idle. The bourgeoisie is no longer able to make use of the fertility of the soil; with the assistance of the state the crop area is reduced and large quantities of foodstuffs are withdrawn from the market and destroyed. The bourgeoisie is no longer able to employ its wage slaves; a large section of the proletariat remains permanently unemployed. The bourgeoisie is no longer able to transform its profits realized in money form into productive capital; an increasing share of these profits is accumulating as idle capital. Capitalist society is obsolete; it has become an obstacle not only to the further development of the productive forces but even to their mere utilization.

This historical obsolescence of capitalist society serves as the basis of state capitalist development in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, also irrespective of the war. In this period there is a constant increase in armaments. The economic difference between peacetime capitalism and wartime capitalism steadily disappears.

"When capitalists work for the defense, *i.e.*, for the government, it is obviously no more 'pure' capitalism, it is a special form of national economy. Pure capitalism means commodity production. Commodity production means work for an *uncertain* and free market. But the capitalist 'working' for the defense does not work for the market at all, he fills the orders of the government, and money is invariably advanced to him by the Treasury." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, p. 236.)

The old methods of high tariffs and dumping are no longer adequate. The bourgeoisie seeks for other methods of using the state to help it to utilize its capital. These methods are very diverse in their character. We will enumerate only a few of the most important of them.

The monopoly undertakings that

collapse during a crisis are saved by huge state credits and subsidies, or by the state purchasing large blocks of their shares. In many large undertakings private capital is replaced by state capital. In many cases these "nationalized" enterprises are restored to "private ownership" after a crisis by the government selling its holdings. In other cases, as in Italy, for example, the state becomes the permanent principal shareholder of the most important enterprises in the country.

Undertakings that make no profit, but which are essential for armament purposes, or for certain capitalists, are initiated and carried out by the state, as, for example, the building of canals, motor roads, airways, enterprises for the exploitation of poor iron mines, various chemical works, etc.

State organized social insurance appropriates a part of the wages of the proletariat that is working and distributes it in the form of unemployed, sick, disablement benefits, or old-age pensions, among the non-working section, thus relieving capital and laying the foundation for the legend of the "social state."

In the interests of the bourgeoisie the state regulates foreign trade, restricts or completely prohibits imports of goods that might compete with the home manufactured product; at the request of groups of capitalists it enters into barter treaties with other countries, etc. Thus, we see that even before the outbreak of the new imperialist war there was a marked development of state capitalism in all countries, including old, free-trade England.

Naturally, in no country have these state capitalist measures overcome the restricted capacity of the home market. Consequently, their purpose was changed. They were no longer directed toward the attempt to expand the home market—which was shattered by the inherent laws of capitalism—but to the end of systematically adjusting production to the limits of consumption, of securing the organized reduction of production by means of compulsory cartels, the prohibition of the erection of new enterprises, etc. But this merely served to bring out more strikingly than ever the contradiction that is characteristic of present-day capitalism, namely, the vast concentration of production in vast enterprises and the very limited capacity of the home market of the small countries.

In the present war the imperialist great powers are making an effort to eliminate the chronic contradiction between the limits of the home market and the high concentration of capital, which demands enormous markets, by expanding the economic field, by absorbing the small countries in their own economic area.

* * *

We think that the further progress of capitalist economy will be on the following lines:

The longer the war lasts the more the belligerent countries will become impoverished in real wealth: the stocks of raw materials and finished goods will become exhausted, machinery, buildings and railways

will become worn out,* the fertility of the soil will diminish. Production will diminish correspondingly.

To continue the war the belligerent countries will be compelled to control their economy still more strictly, to reduce consumption on the part of the working people still further, and compel the proletariat to make still greater exertions for the victory of their bourgeoisie. That means that war monopoly state capitalism will develop still further. But this will all the more intensify the contradiction between the two objects of modern war capitalism, between victory over the external enemy and the suppression of the revolutionary forces. The first object, victory over the external enemy, can be achieved only by subjecting the working population to ever increasing burdens and privations. In the effort to achieve this object, namely, the victory over the external enemy, the bourgeoisie is compelled to pave the way for its own defeat by the "enemy at home." As Lenin wrote:

"The dialectics of history is such that the war, by extraordinarily expediting the transformation of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism, has *thereby* extraordinarily advanced mankind towards socialism." *(Lenin-Stalin, 1917*, p. 452.)

In order to allay the discontent of the workers with their conditions during the war, the bourgeoisie is promising them a paradise—after the war: freedom, democracy, socialism, large apartments and private automobiles. But, remembering what happened after the first World War, the masses of the people are very skeptical about these promises. Such promises cannot dam the rising tide of resistance of the masses of the people and of the revolutionary working class movement.

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* Prof. K. M. Hettlage in an article in *Der Deutsche Volkswort*, of Dec. 20, 1940, entitled "Who Is Paying for the War?" writes as follows:
". . . No data is available for estimating the shrinkage of production of articles for private consumption. In foodstuffs it must range between 4.5 to 5 billion Reichsmark. . . . The production of manufactured goods must have shrunk by about 9 million RM. . . . Consequently, in 1940 alone, as a result of non-consumption, the Reich had placed at its disposal for war purposes goods and services to the value of about 14 billion RM. more than before. . . . This discrepancy between deterioration and replacement, expressed in money, is by no means small. In private enterprises it must amount to at least 6 billion RM. per annum; and in residential building alone it must range between 1.5 and 2 billion RM. In war time such replacements can only be made in enterprises essential for the war. . . . From the economic aspect, the real wealth which should have been used for replacements, but was consumed for war purposes in 1940 must be estimated between 3 and 4 billion RM. To this must be added the further shrinkage of real wealth as the result of the exhaustion of stocks of raw materials and goods. In the World War this amounted to about 20 billion marks. In 1940, this sum must have ranged between 5 and 6 billion RM."

THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

SEVENTY years ago—on March 18, 1871—France and Europe were shaken by the battle-cry of the revolutionary masses of Paris: *Long Live the Commune.*

For over two months the proletarians of Paris fought with boundless heroism and self-sacrifice against a multitude of enemies, from within and without, for the sacred cause of the Paris Commune. With their blood the Paris Communards added one of the most glorious pages to the history of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

The Paris Commune was the first serious attempt by the working class to win for itself political power, to create its own government, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of a new type of state, the proletarian state; it was the prototype of the Soviets.

The Paris Commune expressed the interests and the fondest hopes of the international proletariat, and became the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Paris Commune was the very work of the masses themselves, the fruit of their creative initiative and of their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Paris Commune was a tremendous outburst of indignation against the treachery of the French bourgeoisie in the war of 1870-71, against the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to wipe out the Republic and restore the monarchy. It was the direct reply to the efforts of the bourgeois-landlord reaction to disarm the workers of Paris, to crush the French people and to compel them to bear the cost of the war of adventure lost by Louis Bonaparte and to pay the heavy war indemnity.

"The proletarians of Paris," wrote the Central Committee of the reorganized National Guard in its manifesto of March 18, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking the direction of public affairs into their own hands. . . . They have understood that it is their imperative duty, and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing governmental power."

Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, who became passionately and intensely active in defense of the Commune and rendered all possible aid to the Paris Communards after its bloody suppression, had a high opinion of the epoch-making significance of the Paris Commune. While explaining

the weaknesses and errors of the Commune, Marx and Engels laid exceptionally strong emphasis on its *positive* achievements, and above all on the fact that it was, at bottom, *a government of the working class,* that it represented the political form under which the economic emancipation of labor could take place. In April, 1871, Marx wrote:

"The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained."

In the experience of the Paris Commune Marx found the concrete practical solution of the problem he had raised theoretically, namely: with what is the proletarian revolution to replace the bourgeois state machine, what is to be the new type of state system in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

The Commune proved that the working class cannot simply take hold of the ready-made state machine and set it going for its own ends, but must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commune was a revolution not against one or another form of state power aimed at transferring this power from the hands of one section of the ruling class to those of another, but a revolution aimed at smashing the capitalist machine of bourgeois class domination.

"And that is why," wrote Marx, "whatever its fate [the fate of the Commune] in Paris its fame will spread throughout *the whole world.* The working class of Europe and the United States immediately welcomed it as the magic word of emancipation."

After the death of Marx, Engels had to conduct a furious struggle against the opportunists, who together with the bourgeoisie endeavored to gloss over the significance of the Paris Commune and its great lessons, to divert the proletariat from its revolutionary path. In 1891, on the twentieth anniversary of the Commune, Engels wrote:

"Of late the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.* Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Lenin and Stalin, those brilliant perpetuators of the work of Marx and Engels, and the greatest thinkers and revolutionaries of our epoch, not only rated highly the significance of the Paris Commune but also made splendid use of its experience. Taking a lively interest in, and making a profound study of all the revolutionary movements of the exploited and oppressed in all lands, Lenin and Stalin always strove, and knew how, to draw the necessary lessons from them, so as the better to arm the Russian and the international proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In 1908 Lenin wrote:

"The Commune has taught the European proletariat to deal concretely with the problems of the socialist revolution."

In April, 1911, Lenin wrote:

"As the foremost fighter for the

social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat struggling and suffering. The picture of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the world's capital and kept it in its hands for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after defeat—all this has raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and attracted their sympathy to the side of socialism."

On March 24, 1917, while still in Zurich, Lenin wrote:

"Advancing along the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organize and arm *all* the poorest and most exploited sections of the population, so that they *themselves* may take into their hands all the organs of state power, that they *themselves* may constitute these organs."

In the middle of April, 1917, Lenin stressed the following:

"The real essence of the Commune is not where the bourgeois usually look for it, but in the establishment of a special type of *state*. And such a state in Russia has *already* come into being, it is the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!"

A detailed, and at the same time extraordinarily concise, definition of the historic significance of the Commune was given by Comrade Stalin in April, 1924, when he wrote:

"The Republic of Soviets is thus the political form, so long sought and finally discovered, within the framework of which the economic emancipation of the proletariat, the complete victory of socialism, is to be accomplished. The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form; the Soviet Power is its development and culmination."

The precondition of the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution was its general rehearsal in the shape of the 1905 revolution. The decisive condition of this victory was, however, the fact that the proletariat was led by a fighting and consistently revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Party, the *main* thing lacking in the Paris Commune. Lenin and Stalin, by making a critical study of, and using all the lessons to be drawn from, the history of the struggle of the proletariat of all lands, and primarily from the experience of the Paris Commune and the Soviets of 1905, brought the Russian proletariat already prepared for October. Under the leadership of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, the victorious proletariat succeeded in a most brief historical period, by its tireless struggle against its enemies and by its great creative enthusiasm, in overcoming gigantic difficulties, abolishing the exploiting classes, building socialist society and in entering on the path of transition to the higher stage of this society, communism.

Marx and Engels raised and dealt with the problem of the proletarian dictatorship and of the proletarian state in its most general outlines. Lenin and Stalin had in this sphere to further develop and enrich Marxism, in respect both of theory and of practical constructive work. But the most complex, difficult and new

problems in this sphere had to be elaborated and solved by Comrade Stalin. The Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., reflecting and registering what had been traversed and already won, is incontrovertible proof of the fact that these problems were brilliantly solved not only in theory, but also in practice.

The idea that filled the thoughts of the most lucid and far-sighted minds of humanity, that inspired the fighters of the Paris Commune, that in the past filled, and today fills, the minds and dreams of hundreds of millions of working people, namely, that of a society without the exploitation and oppression of man by man, without the oppression of one nation by another—has been put into life in the great land of the Soviet Union.

* * *

The Paris Commune went under, crushed brutally underfoot by the Versaillese bourgeois betrayers of France. What were the main reasons for the defeat of the Commune?

First, the proletariat, having seized power, and having established its government, adopted a waiting attitude, an attitude of defense toward the Versaillese. Anxious to avoid the accusation of having let loose civil war, the Communards did not undertake an immediate and violent military offensive against the reactionaries of Versailles. The thing to have done, as Marx said, if the enemy were to be prevented from concentrating their forces, was to have marched without delay on Versailles.

The Central Committee of the reorganized National Guard, which carried through the military revolutionary leadership of the Paris masses "gave up its powers *too early*. . . ." The Communards, anxious to escape the reproach of having seized power by force, lost valuable time on the elections to the Commune. Thereby they afforded the Versaillese the opportunity of concentrating and organizing their military forces and of taking the initiative of offensive operations against Paris.

Second, the workers of Paris displayed excessive magnanimity toward their class enemies, the Versaillese and their agents. Instead of adopting extraordinary measures to settle accounts with its enemies, the Commune permitted the reaction to organize its forces in the very heart of Paris. Instead of rendering their enemies and captured spies harmless the Communards endeavored to exert moral influence over them, and naively believed in their "word of honor." This magnanimity of the workers had profoundly fatal consequences for the Commune, and was of irreplaceable service to the Versaillese cutthroats.

Third, the workers of Paris failed to seize the National Bank, and to take the necessary steps to undermine the economic power of the Versaillese reaction.

"The proletariat halted at the cross-roads: instead of proceeding to 'expropriate the expropriators' it let itself be carried away by dreams of establishing supreme justice in the country, united by a nationwide task: such institutions, for example, as the Bank, were not taken, the theories of the Proudhonists regarding 'fair exchange,' etc., still prevailed among the Socialists." (Lenin)

By committing this error, the Commune let slip the possibility of considerably increasing the material resources of its existence and struggle, let slip the possibility of inflicting a crushing blow on its enemies at their most sensitive point.

But the most fundamental weakness of the Commune was that it lacked a genuinely working class Communist Party. Being without such a party, the proletariat of Paris could not secure sufficient preparation and training, nor even a clear idea of the tasks facing them and of the methods of accomplishing them. The working class of Paris, because they were without such a party, could not become the organizer and leader of the revolutionary actions of the proletarians and working people of the provinces. Because it lacked such a party, the Paris Commune, whose links with the countryside were weak, was unable to win over the huge peasant reserves of the whole of France and to lead them against the bourgeois-landlord reaction of Versailles.

The existence of such a genuinely revolutionary working class party, the Bolshevik Party, rendered it possible to lead to success the joint revolutionary actions of the proletariat, peasantry and oppressed nationalities on a boundlessly extensive territory. The Bolshevik Party ensured the unity of will, of action, of aim of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution achieved victory, mainly, thanks to the undivided leadership of *one* party, the Communist Party. The Paris Commune suffered defeat primarily because it was led by two parties, neither of which was Communist.

This very important lesson is pointed out by Comrade Stalin in his famous work about the tactics of the Russian Communists in the October Revolution. He wrote:

"Thus the undivided leadership of *one* party, the Communist Party, as the fundamental factor of the preparations for October—such is the characteristic feature of the October Revolution, such was the first special feature in the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for October. . . . In this the October Revolution is favorably distinguished from the 1871 revolution in France, where the leadership of the revolution was divided between two parties, neither of which could be called a Communist Party."

Today France is living through hard times, the French workers are suffering indescribable tribulations.

In September, 1870, the bourgeois "Government of National Defense" usurped political power and used all its levers and all means, to the point of organizing "national betrayal," for suppression of the French people.

In September, 1939, the bourgeois rulers of France and their masters, after first depriving the French people of all liberties and paralyzing their will, hurled them into the war. By reason of the greed, venality, stupidity and rottenness of the ruling classes, who placed their class privileges and reactionary calculations above everything else, this war led to defeat and catastrophe.

And now the descendants of the Versaillese are using the defeat in the attempt to compel the French people to bear the cost of the war and the defeat, to pay the bill for the foreign occupation, to bear the

consequences of the bankrupt bourgeois regime. And now, like their Versaillese forefathers, they are attempting to provoke the French proletariat, are waging furious chauvinistic and anti-Semitic campaigns, are indulging in infamous orgies of persecution directed against the real representatives of the French people and fighters for social and national emancipation—the Communists. But the French people have undergone many trials, have learned many lessons and, what is the main thing, are beginning to understand who are their real friends and who their enemies.

In the French Communist Party, worthy heir and continuer of the work of the Communards, which is learning the lessons to be drawn from them, and avoiding their errors, employing the experience of the great October Socialist Revolution and mastering the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism—in this party the French proletariat will find the force and the leader that will secure undoubted success for its struggle for liberty and socialism. This success is possible with the aid of the international solidarity of the working people. The French proletarians remember that the banner of internationalism was the banner of the Paris Communards. The decrees of the Commune, all its activity, its composition, its very existence, its slogans, the enthusiastic cries of its fighters, their last testaments—all these were filled with the spirit of internationalism.

The Commune is immortal. "The Commune which was thought to be forgotten, the International which was thought to have been destroyed once and for all—they are among us, alive and twenty times as strong as in 1871." Such were the words uttered by Engels in 1892, on the twenty-first anniversary of the Paris Commune. Today we have immeasurably greater grounds for declaring: *The Commune lives!*

Soviet power, which achieved victory twenty-three years ago, constitutes a mighty socialist state of almost 200,000,000 people. This *Commune* is a tremendous political, economic, military, cultural and moral force. It is the greatest bulwark of the working people of the whole world in their struggle for freedom, for peace and amity between the peoples, for socialism. Today many millions of proletarians, peasants and working people in the capitalist countries, and the colonial peoples feel the warmest sympathy for this splendid Commune—the land of the Soviets, and regard with the greatest hope the great state of victorious socialism.

On March 18, as we do honor to the great memory of the Paris Communards—our glorious revolutionary predecessors, we Communists give our firm Bolshevik word:

To strengthen in every way the might of the great land of socialism—the fatherland of the working people of all lands, to be still more tenacious in training the masses in the spirit of international, proletarian solidarity, to raise still higher and to hold still more firmly the banner of proletarian internationalism, of which the living embodiment is invincible Soviet patriotism, to be tireless in welding together the ranks of the fighters of the working people of all lands, for the full victory of the immortal work of the Paris Commune, of the great work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin throughout the world.

THE GREAT EXAMPLE OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

THE People's Convention held in London on Jan. 12, 1941, was an event of great international importance. In the second year of the war, in the oldest imperialist country in the world, and the very incarnation of reformism, the voice of the working class and of all working people is heard above the imperialist warcries, the explosion of air bombs and the din of mechanized barbarism. The convention broadcast a message calling for worldwide proletarian solidarity, for an end of the imperialist slaughter and for a just and lasting peace among nations.

Fully conscious of its historical responsibility, the working class, whose mission it is to lead the nations out of the horrors of war, of poverty and of starvation, and to mobilize them for the fight in defense of their vital interests, the class that personifies the salvation and future of the nations, has thrown down a challenge to the imperialists of all countries.

The English People's Convention has set a great example to the working people of all countries of independent working class action and of a broad people's movement against the war and the war aims of the imperialists; and it can serve as a basis for a powerful and genuine people's front against the imperialist bourgeoisie at home and for a people's peace. It opens up for the working class and the broad masses of the people real prospects of putting a stop to the imperialist war *in their own way*.

Although the road toward this is a very hard one, and although only one side has taken it as yet, although it entails bitter struggles and the straining of the utmost efforts, the first step has been taken, a beginning has been made. The English People's Convention will give a powerful impetus to the initiative of the people in all countries.

* * *

The London People's Convention, the expression of a spontaneous popular movement, was called into being by the organizing activities of the most progressive and class-conscious elements of the working class, and was carried through with true fighting determination. In his opening speech at the convention Harry Adams, the London District Secretary of the United Building Workers' Union, referred to the origin of this rapidly growing movement and said:

"A mighty movement of popular anger surged forward last year

after the exposure of ruling class incompetence, as shown in Norway and Dunkirk, in the war profiteering and the neglect of the needs of the people. This was the starting point of the People's Convention movement which developed within the Labor Party."

It became increasingly obvious that this is a reactionary war and is detrimental to the interests of the people. The ruling classes have plunged the peoples into this holocaust on the pretext that it is a war in defense of freedom and democracy. The English working people were urged to regard the corrupt government of squire-ridden Poland as a bulwark of freedom and democracy. The persecution of the class-conscious workers in France, the destruction of the French trade unions and the naked dictatorship of the treacherous French bourgeoisie were held up to them as forms of freedom and democracy. And the English industrial magnates, bankers and press lords who had done everything in their power to build up fascism in Germany claimed to be the representatives of freedom and democracy.

While the ruling class has proved itself to be uncommonly capable in piling up scandalous war profits in the name of freedom and democracy, they have displayed neither ability nor desire to make any sacrifice, to organize production rationally, to meet the demands of the masses of the people for effective protection against air raids, to meet the wishes of the Indian and other colonial peoples by means of democratic measures, or to abandon their anti-Soviet policy. All the burdens of the war are being relentlessly imposed upon the working people; while for the capitalists the war merely provides opportunities for increasing their profits and for robbing the masses of the working people as a whole of their democratic rights, and the working class in particular of its trade union rights.

In this they are being greatly assisted by the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions. Bevin, Attlee and Morrison have joined the government and are doing all they can to mislead and disorganize the working class movement. They have prohibited all elections in the trade unions; they have refused to convene the customary trade union congresses; they are doing their best to crush out all political life in the local Labor Parties, they are systematically violating all democratic traditions and customs and have tied the working class to the war chariot of the bourgeoisie. They want the working class to submit silently and obediently to the war dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to place its fate in the hands of the imperialist politicians who are responsible for the present disaster.

But the working class, and working people generally, are seeing more and more clearly the contrast between the mendacious speeches about freedom and democracy hypocritically uttered by the ruling class and their despicable and sinister deeds against the people. The example of France has shown them what results when the bourgeoisie and its "Socialist" flunkeys

are allowed to rule unhindered, and if the people themselves do not come forward and exercise their will. And so the best forces among the English working class and of the English people are determined to put a stop to the passivity, inactivity and disorganization in the working class movement in order to save England, and to save the whole of Europe.

Within the Labor Party, the trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations and among the progressive intelligentsia, a movement began against the war dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants, a movement to break the fetters that bound the initiative of the people. On Sept. 30, 1940, 500 representatives of trade unions, cooperative societies, local Labor Parties and other organizations issued a call for the convocation of a People's Convention. In this call they stated:

"The time has come for the people to unite in their interests. . . . Let the people have confidence in their strength. They alone can save themselves, their country, and the world."

They called upon the people to rally to this convention to back the following six points: (1) Defense of the people's living standards; (2) defense of the people's democratic and trade union rights; (3) adequate air-raid precautions, deep bombproof shelters, rehousing and relief of victims; (4) friendship with the Soviet Union; (5) a People's Government, truly representative of the whole people and able to inspire the confidence of the working people of the world; (6) a people's peace that gets rid of the causes of war.

The Communist Party of Great Britain supported this movement for a People's Popular Convention from the very outset—the only political party to do so—and did all in its power to further it. On Oct. 9, 1940, it issued a statement defining its position in which it stated:

"The Communist Party participates actively in the broad, common movement represented by the People's Convention and gives every support—political and organizational—in order that the convention may realize the aspirations of the working people and lead the way to a People's Government."

The idea of convening a popular convention had a mobilizing effect. The preliminary conferences called in connection with it were actually mass demonstrations. Engineers, miners, builders, railwaymen, tramwaymen, clerks, cooperators, housewives, doctors, teachers, students and soldiers, all sections of the working people, united in this movement, put forward their demands and elected their delegates. Frightened by the magnitude of this movement which sprang from the depths of the masses, the reactionary newspapers and Members of Parliament demanded that the People's Convention be prohibited. The most notorious reactionary Labor leaders, headed by Bevin, were called upon to throw their weight against the popular movement. The Labor Minister Morrison threaten-

ingly hinted that the government would not hesitate to take the sternest measures. But this movement, which surged in the munition factories, in the coalfields, in the mass bomb shelters of the underground railway, and was stimulated by the needs and by the strength of the people, could no longer be resisted, and the government dared not at one stroke shatter the last remnants of its democratic facade.

On Dec. 10, 1940, the National Committee of the People's Convention in London decided to add a seventh point to its program: a pledge to support the struggle for liberty of the Indian and colonial peoples, On the same day Comrade Palme Dutt, in an interview he gave in Glasgow, said:

"The People's Convention on January 12 is not an end but a beginning. . . . The assembly of the People's Convention means the beginning of the organization of a serious continuous movement of a struggle which will unite and lead the immediate struggle of the people, growing and advancing in strength until it comes forward powerful enough in its mass and its means of action to be capable of bringing about the establishment of a People's Government."

The People's Convention met on January 12 in the large hall of the Royal Hotel, in London. The hall proved to be too small, and two other halls had to be taken to seat all the delegates. From all parts of the country, 2,234 elected delegates came to London to express the will of the people. They represented at least 1,200,000 men and women, a number that was very carefully checked in order to avoid duplication. Four hundred and seventy-one delegates came direct from 239 factories employing a total of 400,000 workers. The others were elected by trade unions, cooperative societies, local Labor Parties, women's organizations, youth organizations, student organizations, etc. Fifty-six delegates were sent to the convention by soldiers in the army. Even the reactionary press had to admit that it was *the people* who had gathered here; that working class England was confronting capitalist England. For example, *The Tribune* was compelled to admit in an otherwise scurrilous article:

"The so-called People's Convention was a great success as a conference. The hall and overflow meeting were packed. The speakers were able. The audiences were enthusiastic and mostly composed of good, honest-to-God workers, whose attachment to Socialism, democracy and a decent peace, and whose loathing of fascism could not be questioned. Much of what was said was the authentic voice of a large and growing body of opinion representing genuine, deeply felt and widespread grievances."

The New Statesman and Nation wrote:

"The People's Convention was most efficiently organized. . . . All the grievances of the dispossessed were concentrated at this gathering. The biggest grievance was the war itself: war has always been the most monstrous form of exploitation of the working classes. . . . The electoral truce, the absorption of the Labor

Party leaders in the government and the concentration of their energies in the terrific administrative problems of the war, leaves the gap wide open for an alternative leadership. . . ."

The report in *The Daily Mirror* reflected the perturbance of the ruling classes and their chagrin at the failure of the reactionary Labor leaders to betray the masses more successfully. It stated:

"If the Government knows its job it will make a careful study of the People's Convention held in London. More than 2,000 delegates drawn from factories, coalfields, railway yards and offices from all over Britain attended. . . . The Labor ministers behave like pale imitations of the Tory ministers. So the people feel themselves leaderless. They are beginning to turn to the Communist Party."

The Daily Herald, the organ of the Labor Party, had to admit that the convention was a great success. *The News Chronicle* described the delegates as "a typical crowd of Englishmen." All the reporters were deeply impressed by the intrinsically popular character of the London convention and had no doubts that it expressed the aspirations and demands of the people. The customary denunciation of struggles against imperialist war as "un-English, anti-national intrigues" could not be applied. The convention too strongly bore the stamp of the English people, and it was too obvious that the international aspirations of the working class corresponded to the profoundest interests and needs of the nation. The London People's Convention was a national and at the same time an international event.

* * *

All the sentiments and thoughts, the aspirations and desires of the English (and not only of the English) working people found clear and definite expression at the convention. It issued the following powerful indictment against the British government, which is at the same time an indictment against all the capitalist governments which have plunged their peoples into a war for the redivision of the world:

"We indict the government of representatives of property and class interests, whose rule is responsible for these wars, these miseries, this waste, this tragedy. . . . Unless we make a stand against this class and their government, they will drive forward to a full fascist system. . . ."

D. N. Pritt said in his speech, referring to the treachery of the "Labor leaders":

"All that cuts across the Labor policy and principles is the linking up of its leaders with the class enemies."

And these words apply to all countries where the labor leaders are collaborating with the capitalists.

Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, exposed the true nature of the "democratic imperialism" invented by the Minister for Propaganda when he said:

"Democratic imperialism is as real as a vegetarian tiger. Many people

ask what do Indians prefer, British rule or National-Socialist rule? One may as well ask a fish whether it prefers to be fried in margarine or in butter."

And these words apply to all the imperialists who glorify their imperialism as progressive, democratic and even revolutionary. And Harry Adams appealed to all peoples when in his opening speech he said:

"This great People's Convention is being held for the purpose of reviving the fighting spirit of our people, to revitalize the organs of struggle against the ruling class and in company with the peoples of all the other capitalist countries to fight against the ruling class of all countries for peace and progress."

In its composition, in the demands of the masses of the people voiced by the delegates, and in the resolution that was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted, the convention expressed the inseparable unity that exists between the struggle against the imperialist war and for a people's peace and the struggle for the daily economic and political demands of the working people, for a decent standard of living, for democratic and trade union rights, against the imposition of burdens on the poor and against the privileges of the rich. It was living proof of the fact that not abstract and general slogans, but direct and concrete demands can have the effect of mobilizing and organizing the masses, and that it is necessary to draw them step by step into the great and decisive struggle against decaying and mud-and-blood-stained capitalism.

To the nebulous promises of the imperialists and of their "Socialist" hacks of a "new social order"—after the war, of course—of a "just organization of the world"—after the war of course—and of "equal rights for all workers"—after the war of course—the convention was able to oppose the clear, direct and concrete demands of the people.

What worker would not endorse this indictment of the ruling classes contained in the resolution adopted by the convention?

"We accuse the ruling class of bearing the heavy responsibility for this war by their entire policy since 1918; carrying on the war for the aims of reactionary class interests and world domination contrary to the interests of the people, placing all the burdens of the war on the people and forcing down their standard of living while piling up profits for its own class; destroying democratic and trade union rights; fostering racial hatred among the people; opposing the just, democratic demands of India and the colonial peoples of the Empire; neglecting the adequate air-raid protection of the people; promoting hostility against the Soviet Union, and generally pursuing policies which are leading the people to catastrophe."

What worker would not support these demands contained in the program adopted by the People's Convention?

"We proclaim the right of the common people to a full, free and happy life, which can only be won if wars are brought to an end by

uprooting their causes, and if our labor and skill are devoted to producing the things we need and distributing them among all. We therefore resolve to fight for the following program:

"1. To raise the living standards of the people, including wages, pay of the armed and civil defense forces, all pensions, compensations, insurances and unemployment allowances.

"2. Adequate air-raid protection, bombproof shelters and prompt and effective provision for all the needs of air-raid victims, including rehousing and full and immediate compensation.

"3. The restoration, safeguarding and extension of all trade union rights and democratic rights and liberties.

"4. Emergency powers to be used to take over the banks, land, transport and large-scale industry in order to end economic chaos, profiteering, speculation in food, and corruption, and organize production in the interests of the people.

"5. Freedom for India. The right of all colonial peoples to determine their own destiny, and ending the enforced partition of Ireland.

"6. Friendship with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"7. A People's Government truly representative of the working people throughout the world.

"8. A people's peace achieved by the working people of all countries and based upon the rights of all peoples to determine their own destiny."

These demands found a deep and lasting echo among the masses of the people. On the other hand, the government resorted to action with the object of creating the impression that this was not a broad mass movement, but a sortie by the Communist Party. As a reprisal against the People's Convention the police raided the offices of *The Daily Worker,* and the only daily newspaper in the country that served the people and not the ruling cliques was suppressed. Previous to that *The Daily Worker* offices had suffered heavily as a result of German air raids. Thanks to the self-sacrifice and determination of the Communists and of all the revolutionary workers, the paper was able to continue. But the British government completed the work of the German bombs and excelled the efforts of enemy air-raiders. It robbed the British workers of the newspaper that daily inspired them with courage, optimism and confidence in their own strength.

Soon after the convention a soldier in one of the largest camps in the country wrote to his friends:

"I write on the return of our delegate and his report on the great success of the convention. The lads here are determined to uphold the decisions taken at the convention. . . . We here are with the people in this rich man's war, and for the establishment in this country of a people's government which can call for a real, genuine peace in unity between our people and the German people. In Germany the workers are doing the same thing as the British workers in their struggle against their government. Our fight is their fight. We here all agree that it is only the international action of the working people that can end the war. After

our delegate had finished telling us of what happened at the convention, we agreed, all of us, to club together to pay the fare for one of us to travel into the nearest place where *The Daily Worker* can be got so as to get a full report of the convention—and we raised the fare for him to buy twelve copies for three days' running, so we can distribute it among ourselves and hand it on to others."

The sons of the people and the Ministers of His Majesty, Capital, were for once in agreement; both agreed that *The Daily Worker* was the mouthpiece of the People's Convention. The deductions they each draw from this were entirely different, of course. While the sons of the people collected their pennies to support *The Daily Worker,* the Ministers of His Majesty, Capital, came down like a ton of bricks on the paper and prohibited it "for the duration of the war."

In justifying this lawless act of tryanny the "Labor" Minister Morrison stated that the paper was not suppressed because of any specific article or any specific edition, but because of its continuous and persistent policy.

Thus, an English "Labor" Minister justifies the destruction of freedom of the press in almost the same words as the ex-Kaiser is reputed to have uttered: "It is the whole line that I don't like!"

By its action against the only genuine working class newspaper in the country, the British government has taken the path of the Daladier-Blum government. In all countries the reactionaries launch their crusade against their own people by striking at the Communist press and the Communist Party, against the most loyal and vigilant champions of the people's interests. In all countries the reactionaries force their way through this breach, and only the timely and effective resistance of the people can prevent them from destroying the last shreds of their democratic rights and from leading the country to national disaster.

Even a number of bourgeois newspapers in England had qualms about this act of tyranny against *The Daily Worker*, but they limited themselves to a few formal remarks and were too cowardly and corrupt to take up the fight against this sinister development that threatens the whole nation. The working people, however, took up the fight. They took the suppression of *The Daily Worker* as a declaration of war of the ruling classes against the great popular movement of which the People's Convention in London was the first harbinger. From the factories and workshops, coalfields and arsenals, from the trade unions and cooperative societies, from the ranks of the progressive intelligentsia comes a mighty *popular protest* against this reactionary act of tyranny.

On January 30 the suppression of *The Daily Worker* was approved of in the House of Commons by 297 votes against 11; while about 300 Members of Parliament were either "absent" or abstained from voting on this fundamental question of democratic liberties of the people. Thus, the bankruptcy of so-called

parliamentary "democracy" in England was openly proclaimed, and at a decisive moment the "representatives of the people" proved to be merely yes-men of the reactionaries. All the more urgent, therefore, all the more important, becomes the question of establishing a *genuine* popular representative body; all the greater becomes the historical task of developing a powerful movement for a People's Government and for a people's peace. And all the more courageous and untiring must be the effort to put into practice the resolution of the People's Convention which says:

"We call on all labor, cooperative and trade union organizations, and all mass organizations of working class people to unite their ranks and combine their endeavors to organize their common fight for the victory of this program. We pledge ourselves to spread the message of the People's Convention and organize and extend the mighty movement of the people for the realization of this program. And we appoint and mandate our national committee, the elected representatives of the people, to carry forward a campaign to build up the organizations of the movement, promote mass demonstrations and all other activities in accordance with the program of the People's Convention and in all ways lead the struggle to the victory of a People's Government and a people's peace. Let the people have confidence in their own strength. The people alone can save the people!"

The task is a great and difficult one. It calls for perseverance, determination, fortitude and organization. But its historical significance extends far beyond the frontiers of England, it stretches throughout the whole imperialist world.

* * *

The English People's Convention not only sets an *example* but also a *duty* to the international working class, to the working people of all capitalist countries. In its struggle against the imperialist government at home and in its expression of unqualified solidarity with the working class and all working people of Germany, the English People's Convention was a demonstration of *internationalism in action.*

Palme Dutt's solemn declaration of solidarity with the German working class was welcomed with a tremendous outburst of applause. The central point of this declaration is that, unlike the demagogical insinuations of the reactionary Labor leaders, it did not demand more of the German workers than it demanded of the English workers. It did not call upon the German workers to help the British imperialist government, but set a great example of how to fight against the imperialist bourgeoise at home. The British imperialist government is not one jot worse than all the other imperialist governments; but it is not the task of the British workers to declaim about fighting *foreign* governments; its task is to launch a struggle against its *own* imperialist government. This expressed the essence of the People's Convention and thereby it, not in vapid declarations but by deeds, called upon the work-

ers of the other capitalist countries to display their proletarian, international *solidarity*.

The dishonest demagogues in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and of the Labor Party have hypocritically declared that the People's Convention would only help German imperialism. But these accusations of the reactionaries against the revolutionary working class are quite stale. Throughout the history of the working class movement the bourgeoisie has always favored the revolutionary movement in enemy countries and has denounced the independent action of the proletariat and of the working people generally in its own country as a "stab in the back," as a movement that must be suppressed.

But the whole history of the working class movement also proves that every such action of the working class in each individual country helps the working people in the other countries. What accusations were hurled at the Bolsheviks in 1917! The treacherous French bourgeoisie, while conspiring with the conquerors against its own people, hurled the same accusations against the revolutionary French workers. The same accusations are being made in England by the very people who have encouraged German imperialism in every way.

But the People's Convention was not at a loss for an answer to these accusations. To them Harry Adams retorted:

"This is an abominable lie. We hate all who oppress the common people. . . . We demand that steps should be taken to stop fascist aggression in association with the Soviet Union—always striving for the peace and freedom of all peoples. The members of the government refused to take this only course of preventing further aggression and of preserving peace. . . ."

And Pritt made the following blunt and curt answer to those who argued that the convention would serve the interests of German imperialism:

"These critics are merely liars. We have been enemies of Hitler and his system for years, while these critics—ministers, press lords, bankers, industrial bosses — have been licking his boots, endorsing his submarines, financing him for building up his strength, presenting him with one country after another, with one arms factory after another. . . ."

It is primarily the *demand for a people's peace* that enrages these sordid "critics" and which prompts this argument about serving the interests of German imperialism. To this mendacious argument Adams gave the following convincing reply:

"It is not true that peace means surrender to fascism. A peace that would lead to the freedom of all peoples can be achieved. A People's Government could formulate the peace proposals and, while effectively defending us against the foreign imperialists, could associate with the Soviet Union in an effort for real and enduring peace and could appeal to the people of the conquered countries to revolt against their own oppressors and form their own People's Govern-

ments. It would grant complete independence to all the subject races of the empire and bring about a peace which would enable all peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way. Such a peace would also end the causes of war. . . ."

And Pritt capped this by the clear and definite statement that:

"A People's Government, demonstrating its sincerity by a simultaneous offer of self-determination to the peoples of India and the colonies, could be trusted by the German peoples. But no such offer could be made by any other government. Its acceptance by the German people would mean an end of Hitler and the Nazis, and would also mean that peace could be made without sowing any revenge or injustice, or starvation—seeds of a third world war. . . ."

It is this prospect that rouses the anger and the perturbance of the British imperialists to the utmost. The thing they want to prevent at all costs is that the war should lose its imperialist character and that the people themselves should mutually arrange the peace instead of it being dictated by the imperialist victors. They helped to build up German imperialism for years because they wanted it to be the gendarme of Europe. They decided to make war on Germany only when they realized that German imperialism was not prepared to carry out Britain's plans. But they do not want this war to be carried on for any purpose other than to satisfy their imperialist lust for world power and to impose the yoke of the conqueror upon the nations.

They know perfectly well that the German and Italian workers will not put the slightest trust in the "revolutionary" exhortations of those who are oppressing Ireland and India, who want to dismember Germany and to incorporate Europe in the British Empire. They know perfectly well that the various reactionary "governments" (like the Polish "government") that are hanging out in London cannot inspire the oppressed nations. They know that their hostility to the Soviet Union is repellent to the working class of the countries occupied by Germany. They cannot conceal from themselves that England can be saved at one stroke and the people's desire for peace find irresistible expression if an English People's Government proclaimed the freedom of India, Ireland and all the colonies, and offered the German people peace without annexations and indemnities, a true people's peace.

They realize that this would definitely bring the war to an end—not, of course, in the interests of the German and Italian imperialists, or in the interests of the British imperialists—but with the complete victory of the working class and of the people generally in all countries. And it is because they realize all this that they are so fanatically opposed to it and prefer any other solution than that proposed by the London People's Convention.

The struggle that the English working class and working people generally are waging against the

imperialist bourgeoisie at home is not merely a struggle for their own interests, but a struggle for the interests of the international working class, for the well-being of all nations that are yearning for a just and lasting peace.

Even the most skillful imperialist agitator will be unable to persuade the German, Italian, Austrian or Czechoslovakian workers that the English people's movement is a "plutocratic" movement and that the demands of the English People's Convention for a people's peace express the aspirations of the "plutocracy."

In spite of distorted official reports about the People's Convention the German workers will learn of the confidence that their English comrades are placing in them, and nothing will prevent the breath of proletarian internationalism from being wafted to them. All the revolutionary workers in Germany, Italy and the countries occupied by the German imperialists will consider it their bounden duty to inform the masses about the English People's Convention and see to it that the struggle that the English workers are waging finds a fitting echo throughout Europe.

As against the chauvinist propaganda for an imperialist "victor's peace" they will issue the *slogan for a people's peace* proclaimed by the English People's Convention. Their activities will largely determine the rate at which the people's movement in England will expand further. Every action of the working class in Germany and Italy against the imperialist bourgeoisie at home will directly affect the development of the movement in England and stimulate the growth of a broad international movement for solidarity.

The United States Peace Mobilization, which embraces 12,000,000 people, stated in its message to the English People's Convention:

". . . We believe that a peace forced on the imperialist warmakers by the people of England and the United States would be an infinitely greater threat to world fascism than military intervention. . . . Your meeting marks the great beginning for us all."

This meeting was not only a great beginning for the English and American workers but also for the working class and all working people in all capitalist countries. International solidarity is the greatest menace to world imperialism and the strongest weapon in the hands of the working class and of all working people against the reactionary warmongers. And, like the American working people, the European working people, too, will back the deeds of the English People's Convention with the deeds of proletarian internationalism.

THE EIGHTEENTH CONFERENCE OF THE C.P.S.U.

THE Eighteenth All-Union Conference of the C.P.S.U., held in Moscow from the 15th to the 20th of February, discussed the tasks of the Party organizations in industry and in the transport system, the economic achievements of the Soviet Union in 1940, the plan of economic development for 1941 and, lastly, changes in the composition of the central bodies of the Party.

On February 21 a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was held at which, among other business, the decisions of the Eighteenth Party Conference on the first two items on the agenda were endorsed. The political Bureau of the Central Committee was enlarged by the election to it of Comrades Voznesensky, Shcherbakov and Malenkov as alternate members.

On the same day the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision of great historic importance. In pursuance of the decisions of the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., they instructed the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. to draw up a general economic plan for the Soviet Union to cover fifteen years. The plan is to have in view a development of the economy of the U.S.S.R. during this period that will bring it up to the most important capitalist countries in the output per capita of the population of pig iron, steel, fuel, electrical energy, machinery and other means of production, as well as of consumers' goods. Finally, the Eighth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was held from February 25 to March 1, at which the Budget of the Soviet Union for 1941 was discussed and adopted.

All these important conferences, sessions and decisions are closely interconnected. They all pursue a common object, *viz.*, to secure an increase in output in all branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and thus to strengthen the defenses of the socialist fatherland in the midst of the second imperialist war, as well as to gain new positions in its uninterrupted progress toward communism.

The proceedings and decisions of the Eighteenth Conference of the Bolshevik Party are of outstanding importance not only for the Soviet Union, but also for the masses of the working people in all capitalist countries; for the latter, particularly amidst the conditions of the second imperialist war, are vitally interested in the economic and defensive power of the land of socialism. They realize more than ever that an increase in the strength of the Soviet Union implies an increase in their *own* strength that will enable them to play a decisive role in the impending historic events.

Already at the Eighteenth Con-

gress of the C.P.S.U. in March, 1939, Comrade Stalin set the Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union the grand task of catching up with and surpassing the most highly developed capitalist countries also economically; that is to say, the task of securing a *higher* output of means of production and of consumers' goods per capita of the population than is obtained in these countries. Stalin's task is based on the realization that, in the last analysis, the competition between capitalism and socialism will be decided by productivity of labor, and that the material basis for the transition from socialism to communism is the existence of an *abundance* of means of production and consumers' goods. The slogan "Overtake and surpass the mostly highly developed capitalist countries also *economically*" points the way to the solution of both these problems.

Two years have elapsed since the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. was held. During this period the Soviet Union has made enormous progress in the fulfilment of this truly historic task. The second imperialist war, which is growing into a world war, has, however, created conditions which still further emphasize the necessity of *accelerating* the increase in the might of the Soviet Union in every respect. The decisions of the Eighteenth Party conference are intended to achieve this object.

* * *

It would be extremely useful for the masses of the working people all over the world to draw certain parallels on the basis of the materials and decisions of the Eighteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. and of the conditions at present prevailing in the capitalist countries.

The first thing that strikes one in the economic development of the Soviet Union is its uninterrupted progress. This was already the case before the outbreak of the second imperialist war; and it continues to be so during the war. According to the figures quoted at the conference by Comrade Voznesensky, the index of industrial output in the Soviet Union for the last three years, taking 1929 as 100, is as follows: 1938, 415; 1939, 482 and 1940, 534. In the United States, the most highly economically developed capitalist country, from 1929 to 1940, industrial output increased only 11 per cent.

Not a single capitalist country has up to now achieved the rate of economic development that has been achieved in the Soviet Union; and not a single capitalist country has up to now achieved the steadiness in economic progress that has been achieved in the Soviet Union. This provides still further convincing proof of the superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist economic system.

Another outstanding feature of Soviet economy is its harmonious development. The main reason for the increase in industrial output in the capitalist countries before the second imperialist war was the preparations that were being made for that war; and at present it is the conduct of the war itself. In so far as industrial output in the capitalist countries is increasing at all it is entirely due to the war. This applies to all the important capitalist countries without exception. Production for war purposes, however,

is one-sided production. Neither means of production nor consumers' goods are produced; what is being produced are means of destruction, at the expense of the present generation of working people as well as at the expense of future generations—that is, if the imperialists have the opportunity of thrusting the cost of their war upon future generations.

In any case, the broad masses of the working people are already feeling the economic consequences of the war; and the imperialist rulers are making them do so in the most brazen and cynical manner. In all countries they are drastically reducing the output of consumers' goods with the avowed object of compelling the broad masses to reduce their already meager consumption in order to "save" resources for the production of war materials. The slogans that have been broadcast to achieve this purpose are universally known: "Guns instead of butter," or the latest of them: "Benghasi instead of bacon."

The situation in the Soviet Union is entirely different. Although as a consequence of the capitalist encirclement and of the second imperialist war the Soviet Union has been compelled to devote a considerable part of the labor product for the purpose of directly increasing her defenses, and although, naturally, stress will still be laid on increasing the output of means of production, for this is the condition for the continued development of Soviet economy as a whole, nevertheless there is a steady increase in the output of consumers' goods and consequently a steady rise in the standard of living of the people.

This is proved by the following:

In 1940 the output of consumers' goods increased 7 per cent compared with 1939 and 33 per cent compared with 1937. The plan for 1941 provides for an increase in the output of consumers' goods of 9 per cent over that of 1940. The payroll of workers and office employees in the Soviet Union rose from 82,200,000,000 rubles in 1937 to 123,700,000,000 rubles in 1940; and the plan for 1941 provides for a further increase of 14,000,000,000 rubles, making an average increase per worker of 6.5 per cent.

To this must be added the vast state expenditure in the Soviet Union for social, cultural and public health services. For example, the sums assigned for these services in 1938 amounted to 35,200,000,000 rubles; in 1940 they rose to 41,700,000,000 rubles, and the estimate for 1941 is 47,800,000,000 rubles. These figures alone reflect the uninterrupted increase in the prosperity of the peoples of the Soviet Union; and this at a time when the capitalist world is engulfed in a devastating war, which is driving the vast masses of the people deeper and deeper into poverty.

Hand in hand with the progress in industry, with the increase in the output of means of production and of consumers' goods, goes the progress of socialist agriculture. A number of important measures adopted by the Party and the Soviet Government for the benefit of the collective farms in the period between the Eighteenth Party Congress and the Eighteenth Party Conference have resulted in a considerable increase in the output of agricultural produce and, as a con-

sequence, in a considerable improvement in the conditions of the collective farms and of the collective farmers.

In spite of unfavorable weather conditions in 1940, the total cereal crop showed an increase of 7.3 per cent compared with the preceding year, and amounted to 116,800,000 tons. The plan for 1941 provides for an increase of 8 per cent over 1940. Other branches of agriculture show an even greater increase; for example, sugar beets, 18.6 per cent; sunflower seeds, 13.2 per cent; and potatoes, 35.6 per cent. It is estimated that the increase in 1941 will be still greater.

The same applies to collective-farm livestock. In 1940 the number of large-horned cattle in the collective farms showed an increase of 12 per cent over that of the preceding year; and in 1941 it is estimated to show an increase of 19 per cent. The number of pigs increased 15 per cent, and is estimated to show a further increase of 38 per cent in 1941. The number of sheep increased 25 per cent and the number of goats 34 per cent; estimated increase in 1941 is 23 to 24 per cent.

There has also been a large increase in up-to-date machinery employed in socialist agriculture. For example, the number of tractors employed rose from 483,000 in 1938 to 523,000 in 1940; and the number of combine harvesters increased from 153,000 to 182,000. In the Soviet Union agriculture is more highly mechanized than in any other country in the world, and this serves as the basis for its continued and uninterrupted progress.

Meanwhile, the process of decay in agriculture in the capitalist countries is continuing and causing still further impoverishment among the broad masses of the working farmers. The collective farmers in the Soviet Union are not threatened by any requisition measures. After they have made their deliveries to the state at fixed prices—and the amount of these deliveries is determined by the area of land occupied by the collective farm, and is fairly low—the whole surplus crop remains in the hands of the collective farms and of the individual collective farmers to dispose of as they think fit. They may keep it for their own use, sell it, or exchange it for manufactured goods.

The conditions of the farmers in capitalist countries, particularly in Europe, are entirely different. In most of these countries, before the second imperialist war, the farmers were suffering from a chronic marketing crisis. During the war the product of their labor is appropriated almost entirely by the capitalist state at exceedingly low prices; and the rural working population is being put on the same hunger ration as the working people in the towns.

Every kilogram of grain, every liter of milk, every chicken and every rabbit is officially checked; and woe betide the farmer who dares to turn the fruits of his labor to his own uses, or sell them privately. To this are added perpetual requisitions of draft animals, the devastation caused by military operations, the conscription of the young farmers for military service, and other plagues that are making the already dreadful conditions of the masses of the rural population absolutely intolerable.

In other capitalist countries—particularly overseas—the working farmers are groaning under another curse, namely, the restriction of markets. In the United States huge stocks of grain and cotton are piling up because they cannot find a market. In South America, even during the war, coffee and maize are being used as fuel, and the refrigerators are bursting with "unsalable" meat. In these countries agriculture is being deliberately throttled, and the farmers are being driven from the land. In the United States the number of landless and "vagrant" farmers runs into several millions.

In the Soviet Union, however, the peasantry are not faced with the problem of how to dispose of their crops. The rapidly growing industry, and the growing numbers of industrial workers and of the urban population generally, ensure a steadily growing market for agricultural produce and a steadily increasing flow of manufactured goods to the rural districts. The contrast between the bankruptcy and decay of capitalism and the flourishing condition of socialism is, therefore, glaring also in the sphere of agriculture.

Hand in hand with the steady progress of Soviet economy in all its branches goes the steady increase in the numerical strength of the working class. The number of workers and office employees in all branches of Soviet economy rose from 27,000,000 in 1937 to 30,400,000 in 1940, and in 1941 it is estimated to reach 31,600,000. The measures recently adopted by the Party and the Soviet Government for the purpose of creating state labor reserves will be an exceedingly powerful factor in still further increasing the numerical strength of the working class.

Last year the state training of young skilled workers for industry and the railway transport system was instituted. A large number of craft and trade schools were established at which lads from the age of 14 to 17 are to be trained as semi-skilled and skilled workers. This training will not cost the boys or their parents anything; the whole cost will be borne by the state. The period of training the skilled workers is two years, and that of semi-skilled workers six months. During this period the learners will be provided free of charge with board, lodging and clothing and, in addition, they will earn money in proportion to the amount of work they do. Last year 601,378 learners were enrolled, and in 1941 an additional 887,000 will be enrolled. The cost of maintaining these schools this year will amount to 4,065,000,000 rubles; and in the course of the year they will already provide the industries with 794,000 young skilled workers.

These few figures are sufficient to show what a great effect the planned state training of skilled industrial workers will have upon the growth of the working class, and on the whole of the national economy of the Soviet Union.

In this respect, too, the position of the working class in the capitalist countries is entirely different. It is true that in the countries immediately engaged in the war and in those that are producing war materials there has been an increase in the number of workers employed

in the war industries. But at the same time other branches of industry "not important for war purposes" are being deliberately restricted, and large numbers of workers are being thrown out of employment. A section of these workers must undergo the painful process of "retraining" in order to be transferred to war industry, but the other part remains unemployed.

We find that in spite of the fact that millions of men have been called up for military service, and in spite of the losses already suffered in killed, wounded and captured, unemployment is not diminishing, and in some countries it is even growing. In the countries occupied by Germany there is more unemployment now than before the war; and the same thing applies to other, unoccupied, capitalist countries in Europe.

In Great Britain unemployment is diminishing very slowly; while in the United States the number of unemployed still runs into 8,000,000. As to Germany, where officially there is no unemployment, and where several hundreds of thousands of foreign workers are employed, the manpower absorbed by the vast production of armaments, the number of men called up for military service, the large army of officials employed in government administration for oppression and control at home, and by the machinery of government in the occupied countries, are so great that Germany is actually on the verge of a shortage of reserves. But as soon as these special circumstances fall away, that is, when the country goes back to "peace economy," Germany will be overwhelmed—if the capitalist system survives—with catastrophic unemployment.

The proceedings and decisions of the Eighteenth Party Conference also reflect the steady rise in the cultural standards of the Soviet people. Here are a few figures to illustrate this. The preliminary figures for 1940 show that expenditure on public education in that year amounted to 22,682,000,000 rubles. The Budget for 1941 assigns 26,612,000,000 rubles for this purpose. The number of pupils attending elementary and secondary schools in the school year 1941-42 will be 36,200,000, which is an increase of 3.4 per cent over last year. The number of university and college students in 1941-42 will be 657,000, an increase of nearly 13 per cent over that of last year.

The number of intellectuals from the ranks of the working class and the collective farmers has increased enormously during the past few years. For example, the census of 1939 revealed an increase in the population of the Soviet Union of 16 per cent compared with 1926. In the same period, however, the number of engineers multiplied 7.7 times, the number of agronomists 5 times, the number of scientific workers over 7 times, the number of school teachers 3.5 times, and the number of doctors 2.3 times. According to preliminary figures the amount spent on public health in 1940 was 9,379,000,000 rubles, and the budget for 1941 has assigned for this purpose the sum of 10,891,000,000 rubles.

In striking contrast to this cultural progress in the Soviet Union is the cultural decay that we see in capitalist countries. Everywhere

expenditure on public education and public health has been drastically whittled down. Attendance at school has greatly diminished, partly as a result of the evacuation of school children from the cities, and partly as a result of the shortage of schools and teachers. Young teachers have been called up for military service, school premises have been destroyed during military operations or converted into barracks and military hospitals.

In the countries occupied by Germany the universities have been simply closed; the premises of elementary and secondary schools have been taken over by the army of occupation and the children have been left in the street. Most of the school books printed in the national languages have been withdrawn by the occupational authorities and destroyed.

In all capitalist countries complaints are heard about the "superfluity" of intellectuals, who are suffering from chronic unemployment. It is becoming more and more difficult, and even impossible, for young members of the working class to obtain higher education. Under cover of a medieval race theory, and as a means of national oppression, tens of thousands of intellectuals have been driven from the centers of learning; they have been deprived of their occupation, and their books consigned to the flames. Barbarism, obscurantism and cultural decay are today the symbols of capitalism. And the rulers of these countries have the effrontery to claim that it is their "mission" to "save human civilization"!

Truly it can be said of imperialism that "where it treads no grass can grow." This is proved by the present war. The tragic lot of the countries that have been overrun by soldiery and occupied during this imperialist war is common knowledge. Quite apart from other horrors that the occupation thrusts upon these countries, they are being systematically looted by the forces of occupation.

In contrast to this we see the happy lot of the peoples in the countries that have liberated themselves from the capitalist world with the aid of the Soviet Government and have joined the Soviet Union. This, too, was vividly illustrated by the proceedings and decisions of the Eighteenth Party Conference.

Knavish, unctuous hypocrites, particularly those in the ranks of Social-Democracy, have slanderously stated, and still state, that the liberation of Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia was a military occupation on a par with what we see in the capitalist world. But the facts utterly refute these lies. Everybody knows what is going on in the occupied regions in the capitalist world. What is going on in the liberated countries can be broadly summed up as follows:

In the liberated regions and countries the large industrial enterprises, the big commercial houses and the banks have been nationalized and have become the property of the people. The land has also been nationalized, and the estates of the big landlords were confiscated and distributed gratis among the working peasants. Taxation, which pressed so heavily upon the popula-

tion of town and country, has been greatly reduced.

Free sick, disablement, and old age insurance has been introduced; house rent has been greatly reduced; the cost of municipal services such as gas, electricity, water, tram and bus fares, and so forth, has been greatly reduced, and free public education has been introduced.

By providing raw materials where they were lacking and ensuring a market, the Soviet Union very soon made it possible to restart and run at full capacity factories that had long been idle, or had been working part time. Unemployment has disappeared. By organizing numerous machine and tractor stations, the peasantry in these countries have now agricultural machines and tractors at their disposal.

And all this is only the beginning of the development and progress of the new Soviet regions and Soviet republics. The Eighteenth Party Conference set the task of rapidly transforming the liberated regions from backward agrarian countries into highly developed industrial Soviet republics. Toward this end huge sums for capital investments have been placed at the disposal of these new republics. Thus, the 1941 Budget provides for capital investments in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic amounting to 260,500,000 rubles, in the Latvian Soviet Republic 300,000,000 rubles and in the Esthonian Soviet Republic 241,000,000 rubles; and correspondingly large sums are to be spent on economic development in the Moldavian Soviet Republic and the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic.

For social and cultural services, such as social insurance, public education and public health, the 1941 Budget allows for an expenditure in the new Soviet Republics amounting to the vast sum of 1,604,000,000 rubles. This is the way the people who have thrown off the yoke of capitalism and have joined the great Soviet family of nations are treated in the Soviet Union. And this does not only apply to the new Soviet Republics. The Soviet Government pursues the same policy toward the old Soviet Republics which under tsarism were merely the colonial border regions of the empire.

The imperialists treat colonies as an object of unrestricted exploitation, as places from which to drain natural resources and human cannon fodder. What the Soviet Union has done for the development of the peoples who formerly, under tsarism, had groaned under the yoke of colonial oppression is universally known; and it is continuing on this road. This is shown by the increased capital investments allowed for these Soviet Republics in the 1941 Budget.

The total centralized capital investments for the Soviet Union provided for in the U.S.S.R. Budget for 1941 are 71 per cent higher than those of 1940. But for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic they are 76 per cent higher than 1940, for the Georgian Soviet Republic 101 per cent, for the Armenian Soviet Republic 135 per cent, for the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic 122 per cent, for the Tajik Soviet Republic 83 per cent, for the Kirghiz Soviet Republic 132 per cent and for the Turkmen Soviet Republic 72 per cent. At a time when imperialism is liter-

ally trampling upon whole nations and countries in the most brutal manner, the national policy of the Soviet Union is particularly clear and impressive for the nations now oppressed by imperialism.

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The decision of the Party and of the Soviet Government to draw up a general economic plan for the U.S.S.R. for *fifteen* years is of truly historic importance. Its object is to plan the economy of the Soviet Union for the next fifteen years with a view to overtaking and surpassing the most highly developed capitalist countries also economically, *i.e.*, in output of the most important means of production, and of consumers' goods per capita of the population. What does this signify?

First, it will provide conclusive proof that productivity of labor under socialism is higher than under capitalism; and this, as Lenin emphasized, is, in the last analysis, the decisive criterion in comparing the prospects of development of different social formations.

Practical proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism already exists in many spheres. For example, let us recall the fact that the Soviet Union was in a very short space of time transformed from a backward agrarian country into a first-class industrial country without material assistance from abroad; the fact that the rate of economic development of the Soviet Union has far exceeded the highest rate ever attained in the capitalist world; the fact that the formerly extremely backward agriculture of the Soviet Union has grown into the most highly mechanized agriculture in the world; the fact that Soviet economy has progressed according to plan, without crises and without setbacks, whereas the capitalist world has been tumbling from crisis to crisis, until it has finally landed into a bloody world massacre for a new division of the globe.

All these facts, and many others that could be quoted, are convincing practical proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. In all these fields, and many others, the Soviet Union long ago surpassed the highly developed capitalist countries. Nevertheless, there is one important discrepancy. The Soviet Union still produces less than the most important and highly developed capitalist countries *per capita of the population.*

The recent development of Soviet economy, however, and particularly the fulfilment of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, has laid the necessary foundation that will enable the Soviet Union to overtake and surpass capitalism also in this decisive field. It has enabled the government to proceed to draw up a general, definitely scheduled, economic plan to fulfil this great task in a visible space of time.

Second, the fulfilment of this general economic plan will finally secure the Soviet Union's economic independence of the capitalist world. Moreover, it will mark a great step toward completing the material foundation for the transition to communism. Comrade Stalin has stated that the transition to communism requires a material basis that will guarantee an abundance of material wealth—of means of production and of consumers' goods.

The Communist principle, "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs," can be applied only when a very high standard of productivity of labor has been achieved, and when the productive forces of society have been developed to an enormous degree.

To excel the economically highly developed countries as regards output per capita of the population means taking a long stride toward the transition to communism. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the decision to draw up this fifteen-year plan is one of historic importance.

It has now become the fashion among the imperialists in both camps to dangle before the masses rosy plans for the future. Some of them even mouth the word "socialism." The Social-Democratic henchmen of capitalism in both camps are eagerly taking part in this mummery and, true to their nature, these creatures will no doubt be the first to slander the historic decisions of the Party and the Soviet Government to draw up this fifteen-year plan.

No lengthy arguments are needed to prove that this measure of the Soviet Government is real and earnest. The achievements of the Soviet Union so far are proof enough of that. The enormous progress the Soviet Union has already made in all fields is a sufficient guarantee that this historic task will be fulfilled, too. The vilifiers and professional liars about the Soviet Union have been repeatedly laid low by the facts of Soviet life, and we can take it for granted that they will get their deserts in this case, too. The Soviet Union is not building castles in the air. Her plans have a firm and solid basis and are being carried out. So will it be with this fifteen-year economic plan.

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The keynote of the Eighteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. was: criticism and self-criticism. This was particularly marked in Comrade Malenkov's report and during the discussion on that report.

In the hands of the Bolsheviks criticism and self-criticism are powerful instruments with which to detect flaws and defects in their own activities, to reveal their causes, to indicate means to remove them and, above all, to mobilize the broad masses and to concentrate their energies on what at the moment is the most important sector of the wide front of socialist construction.

The criticism and self-criticism expressed at the Eighteenth Conference served, in particular, as a stirring appeal to the vast masses of the Bolsheviks, Party and non-Party, and to all Soviet citizens, to concentrate all their creative energies upon what is today the main sector of the socialist fighting front —the further improvement of Soviet industry and transport.

Are there any flaws and defects in Soviet economy? The Bolsheviks have never denied that there are; in fact, they have often discussed them in the hearing of all. Socialism has abolished the principal evils of capitalist anarchy—and this is the main thing; but it would be naive, or sheer hypocrisy, to expect that socialist economy can overnight be made to run like a clock. Every worker living in a capitalist country

who seriously ponders over the practical problems that will arise in the course of socialist construction in *his* country will appreciate this. Is it not sheer idiocy, or arrogance, for various servitors of capitalism to turn up their noses at the defects and flaws at present to be found in Soviet economy—particularly today, when their capitalist masters have hurled everything into chaos and have plunged humanity into an imperialist war? Truly, one must have lost all sense of decency to indulge in supercilious "reflections" about the defects in Soviet economy in face of this tragic disaster.

Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism are also an expression of Soviet democracy. In no capitalist country will the ruling party dare publicly to lay bare and criticize the flaws and defects in its activities and in those of its leading officials. More often than not everything is done to hush up and conceal the blunders and incompetence of the ruling class, and even to present them as virtues. The masses of the working people are treated as a mere herd; it is drilled into their minds that silent and blind obedience is the supreme virtue of the citizen.

In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, everything is done to stimulate the creative initiative of the masses. They are encouraged to take an active part and to display initiative in exposing and removing flaws and defects in the daily work without respect of person.

The Eighteenth Party Conference called upon all the Party organizations, upon all the Bolsheviks, Party and non-Party, to concentrate all their efforts on the work of still further improving Soviet industry and transport, to concern themselves with all the details of the work in their factories, plants and railway stations with the view to removing the existing defects by common effort. This is the purpose that is served by criticism and self-criticism, by the public exposure of defects and the suggestions of ways and means of removing them.

The Eighteenth Party Conference also provided an impressive example of how the Stalinist policy in respect to leading cadres is applied. In changing the composition of the central bodies of the Party a number of new, well-tried comrades were elected, some were removed, and a number of high Soviet officials were cautioned. The Bolsheviks' main criterion in dealing with and promoting the leading cadres is not past services or high position, but absolute loyalty to the cause of the Soviet people combined with knowledge, ability and efficiency. By applying this cadre policy, the Party has succeeded in training hundreds of thousands of young, devoted and capable Party workers, in appointing thousands and thousands of sound Bolsheviks to leading resposible positions in industry, in the Red Army and in the Soviet administration, and in merging the young cadres with the old. The firm unity of the Party, which was displayed also at the Eighteenth Party Conference, is by no means the least of the results of the Stalinist cadre policy.

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The masses of the working people in the capitalist countries are already experiencing the second year

of the new imperialist war, with all its horrors and miseries. The ruling classes are trying to hold the working people down by means of brutal terrorism. More than ever before, the bourgeoisie is interested in shaking the confidence of the working class in its own strength. But the enormous successes achieved in the land of socialism on all fronts of socialist construction—although surrounded by capitalist devastation—and the wide prospects of further progress that the Soviet people have before them, will also inspire the masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, imbue them with fresh courage, and with confidence that *their* day, too, will come. In this respect, the proceedings and decisions of the Eighteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. will be of enormous importance.

At the Eighteenth Party Congress in 1939 Comrade Stalin concluded his report with the following simple, but profound and prophetic words:

"The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes it not to its own merits, but to the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism,* International Publishers, N. Y., p. 667.)

TASKS IN INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT IN THE SOVIET UNION

ABRIDGED REPORT TO THE 18th CONFERENCE OF THE C.P.S.U. FEB. 15, 1941

BY G. M. MALENKOV

I. *Achievements and Defects*

ONE of the questions raised for discussion at this conference is the tasks of the Party organizations in the sphere of industry and transport.

In my report on this question I shall deal chiefly with the defects in the work of industry and transport, the defects of the work of the Party organizations and the People's Commissariats in this sphere, the reasons for these defects, and measures for removing them.

This, comrades, does not mean that we have no successes to record in the work of industry and transport. On the contrary, in the two years that have elapsed since the Eighteenth Party Congress both industry and transport have continued to make steady progress.

Whereas in 1938 the gross output of industry was valued at 106,834,000,000 rubles, in 1939 it was valued at 123,915,000,000 rubles and in 1940 at 137,500,000,000 rubles.

Thus we have a tremendous increase in the gross output of industry from year to year.

There has also been an improvement in the work of the transport services during these two years. Compared with 1938 the volume of freight carried in 1940 by the railways increased 10.3 per cent, by the river fleet 12.8 per cent, and by the coastal fleet 15.1 per cent.

During the past year, the industries and the transport system of the Soviet Union have made considerable strides in the matter of fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan; the volume of goods produced and freight carried have increased, and a further expansion of the national economy and an increase in the defensive power of the U.S.S.R. have been ensured. The successful introduction of new technique and the expansion of the defense industries have made it possible to improve considerably the technical equipment of the Red Army and Navy by the addition of the latest types of modern armaments.

Speaking at the Eighteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin said that what was needed above all in order to overtake the principal capitalist countries economically was a strong and indomitable desire to move ahead and a readiness to make sac-

rifices and to consent to huge investments of capital for the utmost expansion of our socialist industry.

During the past two years we have invested immense sums in industry and transport and have started many new enterprises.

Capital investments in industry and transport amounted in 1938 to 22,341,000,000 rubles, in 1939 to 25,037,000,000 rubles and in 1940 to 27,728,000,000 rubles.

Our Party is unswervingly putting into practice Comrade Stalin's teachings on the subject of socialist industrialization. The industrialization of the U.S.S.R. has been a law in the socialist development of our country.

We must have everything we require, so as not to become an appendage of capitalist economy, Comrade Stalin teaches us. Guided by this precept, our Party has ensured the economic independence of the U.S.S.R.

Our industry, our economy, must be developed in the interests of socialist victories, in the interests of the construction of socialism, Comrade Stalin teaches us. Guided by this precept, our Party has succeeded in having all the trapdoors closed against capitalism in our country.

The U.S.S.R. has already become a mighty industrial socialist power.

Nevertheless, comrades, side by side with these achievements, there are many serious defects in the work of our industry and transport.

Although our industry as a whole increased its output in 1940 by 11 per cent as compared with 1939, there are a number of branches, in particular the locomotive and car-building industry, the electrical industry, the timber, paper, fishing and building materials industries, which are lagging behind and not fulfilling their production plans.

Certain People's Commissariats, while they have fulfilled their plans of gross output in general, have not fulfilled their plans in respect to a number of highly important products. This has been the case with the People's Commissariat of the Textile Industry, the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry, and the People's Commissariat of the Light Industries.

This, of course, is a serious shortcoming in the work of the Commissariats mentioned. Fulfilling the plan in the case of a People's Commissariat means fulfilling it in respect to every item of output without exception, and not only those which are easiest to cope with.

There are also People's Commissariats which had not only failed to fulfil their plan for 1940, but have even somewhat reduced their gross output as compared with 1939. These include the People's Commissariat of the Fish Industry, the People's Commissariat of the Building Materials Industry, and the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry. It must be plainly stated that these People's Commissariats have worked worse than others.

One serious defect in the work of a number of branches of industry is the delay in starting new plants.

A number of branches of industry, owing to excessive expenditure of raw materials, fuel and electricity, to serious losses caused by spoilage, and to other uneconomical expenditures, have not fulfilled their plans in respect to

lowering production costs. The situation in this respect is particularly bad in the oil, timber, paper and building materials industries.

The electric power stations, which are a factor of exceptional importance, were able to report an improvement in their work in 1940. Nevertheless, there are still far too many breakdowns at power stations, and especially in the power transmission system, owing to negligence on the part of technical personnel and failure to observe technical regulations. New technique in the electrical industry—such as the use of high-pressure and high-temperature steam, the automatic regulation of units, and the adoption of modern, fast-acting electric safety devices—is being introduced too slowly and inadequately.

As regards the railway system, one serious defect is the failure of a number of lines to fulfil the plan for the haulage of major freight, the plan for freight-car circulation, and the plan for average daily car loadings. A large number of freight trains did not move according to schedule, passenger traffic is still not organized as it should be, and unpunctuality of train movement has not yet been eliminated.

As to the sea and river transport services, the freight plans are still not being fulfilled, especially in regard to such important goods as ore, oil, grain, salt, timber, coal and cement. Excessive holding up of tonnage and rolling stock, and delay of goods at reloading stations still occur because the necessary coordination of the work of the railway stations, seaports and river wharves is still lacking.

Such are the achievements and defects in the work of industry and transport.

II. Reasons for the Defects

What, comrades, are the reasons for the unsatisfactory work of a number of branches of industry and transport?

It is our duty to disclose these reasons with the utmost Bolshevik candor. The more frankly we disclose our shortcomings, the sooner shall we rid ourselves of them. That is what we are taught by Comrade Stalin. People who endeavor to gloss over our defects are rendering a poor service to the Party.

The unsatisfactory work of industry and transport is due to defects in the way they are directed by the People's Commissariats, and to the fact that the regional committees and city committees of the Party have relaxed their efforts in this sphere.

As regards the People's Commissariats, it must first of all be stated that in many respects they work bureaucratically, they still do not get down to the affairs of each separate plant, and their direction of the plants is of a formal character, confined to paper correspondence, instead of dealing practically with specific problems.

The People's Commissariats are poorly acquainted with the directing personnel of their plants, are badly informed of the state of affairs at the plants, and do not take timely and effective measures to eliminate the defects in their work. Only rarely do the directing personnel and the People's Commissariats visit the factories; they do

not personally assist them in the organization of their work, apparently preferring to direct bureaucratically from their swivel chairs, by correspondence alone.

A big defect in the work of the People's Commissariats is that they do not keep a check on the fulfillment of their orders by the directors of the plants. . . .

As a rule, there is nobody in the People's Commissariats who is responsible for seeing that definite decisions are carried out. . . .

Many similar examples of bureaucracy and red tape and the absence of any verification of the fulfillment of orders might be cited. They are, unfortunately, to be found in every People's Commissariat; and there is no thorough day-to-day control of the work of the plants. Yet it is the cardinal duty of the Commissariats to institute such a thorough day-to-day control. . . .

Such are the defects in the direction exercised by the People's Commissariats.

Now as to the defects in the work of the Party organizations in the sphere of industry and transport. The chief thing is that the Party organizations give no assistance to the People's Commissariats or to the industrial establishments in their region, town or district.

The Party organizations, both in industry and in the transport services, have relaxed their efforts, under the mistaken notion that they bear no responsibility for the work of industry and transport.

Like the business organizations, the local Party organizations do not understand the meaning and importance of verifying the execution of orders, and as a result do not assist the People's Commissariats and the chief departments in establishing a day-to-day check on the way the decisions of the Commissariats are carried out by the directors of the plants under their control.

Many of the regional committees of the Party, while they devote attention to agriculture and the procurement of agricultural stocks, neglect industry and transport, forgetting their responsibilty for the work of the mills, factories, mines and railways in their region, city or district; while the city Party committees, whose duty it is to devote their main attention to industry and transport, do not do so, and take no measures for the improvement of the work of lagging industrial plants and railways. . . .

The city and regional Party committees have grown accustomed to a number of plants in their areas being in deep water for long periods on end, and take no effective measures to put an end to such a shameful state of affairs. . . .

Very unsatisfactory, in particular, is the attention city and regional Party committees pay to plants, both in operation and under construction, which come under the jurisdiction of the Union People's Commissariats, in the mistaken belief that it is the Commissariats alone that are responsible for the state of affairs at these plants and construction jobs.

It is the bad work of a number of the regions that was in a large measure to blame for the non-fulfillment of the general plan of output of certain highly important products. . . .

Many industrial cities in which

a number of large plants are concentrated are not fulfilling their production plans. . . .

Yet, it is a primary duty of the Party committees in these cities to ensure the proper working of industry.

One big defect in the work of the city and regional Party committees is that they do not delve down to the real state of the work of the plants, do not study the economics of the plants, but instead all too frequently confine themselves to superficial investigations and makeshift decisions.

It is a fact, as you know yourselves, comrades, that many of our city and regional Party committees limit their duties with regard to industry and transport to hearing the reports of plant directors at the meetings of the bureaus of the regional Party committees. The decisions adopted on the basis of such reports are usually vague and of very little help to the plants. What is more, as a rule no check is kept on the way even these decisions are carried out. . . .

Regional or city Party committees begin to show some interest in a plant only when it is already in deep water. . . .

It is time to abandon this superficial approach to the industries and transport services. . . .

These, comrades, are the reasons for the unsatisfactory work in a number of branches of industry, and for the defects in the work of industry and transport.

III. Economic and Political Tasks

What is required of the Party organizations to remove the defects in the work of industry and transport?

First of all, the Party organizations must drop their attitude of indifference to the state of industry and transport, and their attention must be vigorously drawn to the necessity of displaying the maximum concern for the needs and interests of industry and transport.

It is the duty of Party organizations to delve systematically into the affairs of industrial plants and the railways, to ascertain their needs and demands, and to assist the business organizations in their day-to-day work of directing industry and transport.

Until now the Party organizations have been devoting most of their attention to the guidance of agriculture. And this was right as long as the grain problem had not yet been solved. But now that the grain problem and the task of securing a yearly harvest of seven to eight billion poods has in the main been solved, the attention of the Party organizations must be turned toward industry and transport. This does not mean that attention toward agriculture may be relaxed. But it does mean that our Party organizations have now sufficiently matured to be able to give equal attention to both industry and agriculture.

It is a cardinal and urgent task of all Party organizations to eliminate the defects in their work in industry and transport.

It is the bounden duty of the Party organizations to assist the People's Commissariats and plants in getting the mills, factories, mines, railways, ports and wharves to run properly. And each enter-

prise must be concretely dealt with separately. The Party organizations must display the utmost initiative in disclosing new potentialities for the improvement and development of industry and transport.

Further, the Party organizations must assist the People's Commissariats and the chief departments in keeping a check on the work of plant managers and in verifying the way the decisions of the People's Commissariats are carried out by the plants.

Leaders of Party organizations must realize the urgent necessity of a radical improvement in the work of the Party organizations in respect to verifying the way decisions are carried out by the industries and transport services. The Party organizations must clearly understand that the People's Commissariats are unable unaided to control the work of their plants and to verify the execution of their orders. The Party organizations must therefore assist the People's Commissariats in verifying the way the instructions of the latter are carried out by the plants, that is, in controlling the work of the directors of the plants.

These conditions alone are capable of ensuring the systematic fulfillment of the state production plans by each factory and by each railroad, thus furthering the developing of industry and transport.

What other measures must be taken by the Party organizations to remove the defects in the work of industry and transport?

Accountancy of machinery, property and materials of all kinds. It is this question we must begin with, because there are many who forget that unless due account is kept of machinery, property and materials a plant cannot be properly managed. If a director is anxious to exercise real control over his plant and not to work in the dark, haphazardly, he must know down to every detail what his plant has at its disposal, what machinery, tools, and materials there are at the plant, and where they are to be found.

Yet, there are many facts which go to show that accounts of machinery, materials and even finished goods are kept very unsatisfactorily at the plants. The plant managements tolerate inflated staffs and an unnecessarily intricate system of accounting, yet cannot get the most rudimentary information about the resources of their plants. . . .

The effect of this chaotic state of accountancy at the plants is that superfluous stocks of material are accumulated, superfluous and, as a rule, incompletely assorted stocks of parts are built up, the quantity of unfinished product is unnecessarily increased, and vast sums of government money are turned into dead capital.

According to figures supplied by the Central Economic Statistical Board, stocks of goods and materials in the plants of twelve industrial People's Commissariats on Dec. 1, 1940, exceeded the established limits by 2,610,000,000 rubles.

The effect of bad accounting is that highly valuable machine tools, machinery and motors lie about unutilized in factories, on construction jobs and on the railways. It is a common thing for a director of a factory, when getting a new order, to put in a request for additional material, machine tools and equipment, including imported equip-

ment, when, as a matter of fact, it is all available in sufficient quantities at the factory itself. As to the People's Commissariats, since they do not know the true state of affairs at their plants, instead of verifying the latter's requisitions and demands, they, as a rule, just rubber-stamp them.

A factory at which accounts are not kept properly is always liable to unexpected surprises. Production difficulties are bound to arise owing to a shortage of one kind or another of raw material, semi-manufactures or tools which is totally unexpected by the management. What is more, the shortage is always discovered only at the moment when the need for the materials arises and when it is already time to deliver the finished product.

The task is to put an end to the chaotic state of accountancy at our industrial plants and on the railways.

The industrial plants and railways must have a proper system of accounts of machinery, property and materials of every kind.

Utilization of machinery, tools and materials. It is obvious, comrades, that the proper utilization of machinery, tools, materials and fuel is essential to the successful running of a plant.

Yet the productive capacity of the machinery of our industrial plants is far from being utilized to the full, the tools of many of them are in a state of neglect, while materials and fuel are expended inefficiently and uneconomically. Many a machine tool and other item of equipment stands idle at the factories, or else just lies in the storehouse, while other factories are experiencing an acute need for this very equipment.

According to the figures of the Central Economic Statistical Board for eight industrial People's Commissariats—and these figures are by no means complete—On Nov. 1, 1940, there were 33,000 metal-cutting machines at the plants of these Commissariats, which had not been installed and were consequently not being operated. In addition, at the plants of these eight Commissariats, there were 6,000 forging machines and presses which had likewise not been installed and were therefore standing idle.

The figures of the Central Economic Statistical Board also show that at 7,629 plants there were 170,000 electric motors with an aggregate capacity of 2,000,000 kilowatts, and 4,522 electric generators with an aggregate capacity of 340,000 kilowatts, which had not been set up.

Can such an outrageous state of mismanagement be tolerated any longer, comrades? . . .

There are also frequent cases when highly productive machinery of which there is a shortage, complex units and large machine tools, are not used for the purpose for which they were designed, or are utilized below capacity. Sometimes these rare and complex machines are used for the performance of simple operations or the making of small details which it would be more rational to make on simpler and smaller machines. . . .

The effect of this uneconomical utilization of machinery is to lower the effective productive capacity of our plants and to cause immense loss to our national economy.

Things are just as unsatisfactory with regard to the utilization of

tools. Tools are not used in the way they should be at the plants. Costly tools are not employed for the purpose for which they are designed. Very often a used tool is scrapped when it might be restored and again put to use.

As to materials and fuel, the wastage here is simply criminal. Large quantities of metal are lost in turnings owing to excessive dimensions of castings and forgings. Furthermore, these turnings, including those of rare metals, are not fully and properly utilized. A great deal of material is lost owing to incorrect and uneconomical shape and wrong design of the raw parts. Rolled products are not manufactured in a sufficiently large assortment, with the result that more metal is used than is necessary.

Waste of fuel and electric power is still all too excessive at our plants and on the railways. Liquid fuel is wastefully burned where it could very well be replaced by solid fuel.

The task is to put an end to the uneconomical utilization of machinery, to the wasteful use of tools, materials, fuel and electricity, to put an end to a state of affairs in which the capacity of our industry and transport services is not utilized to the full.

It is time our industrial plants and railways made full and proper use of their machinery, and expended tools, materials, fuel and electricity economically.

Preservation of state property at industrial plants. Concern for the preservation of state property—structures, buildings, machinery, tools and all material values entrusted to a plant—is a primary duty of every executive, engineer, worker and office employee at our mills and factories and in our railway and water transport services. This is not understood by many executives, who display a negligent and wasteful attitude to public property at every step.

At many plants machines, materials and tools of which our industry is experiencing an acute need lie strewn about anywhere, become rusty, spoiled and unfit for use.

You may find instances of this, comrades, at the plants in your own regions and towns. . . .

In the transport services, neglect of repairs of rolling stock and careless maintenance of railways and waterways are grave causes of accidents and breakdowns.

The task is to put an end to such manifestations of an anti-state attitude toward public property.

What we must strive to secure is that all materials in our industrial plants and in the transport services be kept in a proper state of preservation and in good repair, and that plant managers take good care of the state property—buildings, machinery, tools and materials—that has been entrusted to their care.

Prohibition of the sale of equipment and materials by industrial plants. On this subject, comrades, a decree was issued the other day. It was that our plants sometimes fritter away equipment and materials by disposing of them to other plants in the way of sale or barter. The state assigns equipment and materials to the plants for definite purposes, yet the directors dispose of them arbitrarily and unlawfully by selling or bartering them away.

You may find instances, comrades, of state property being sold or bar-

tered away at many of the plants in your own regions or cities. . . .

The task is to give strict effect to the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of Feb. 10, 1941, forbidding the sale, exchange or disposal of machinery or materials, and making such unlawful transactions a punishable offense.

It is time to put a stop to this practice that has arisen at many plants and on many railways of selling off so-called dismantled and superfluous machinery and materials, which is nothing more than the pilfering of socialist property.

Order and cleanliness in plants and on the railways. It should seem perfectly obvious that cleanliness is one of the most elementary conditions for the normal running of modern industry.

Machinery that is not looked after, that is not kept in a proper state of cleanliness and good order often fails to work. Breakdowns and accidents are inevitable where order and cleanliness are absent. The result of working on dirty and rundown machinery and with bad tools is spoiled product.

Dirt is an inevitable concomitant and source of negligence, poor discipline, slackness and bad order at a plant.

The disorder and untidiness that prevail at many of our plants hamper the proper organization of the labor of workers, foremen and engineers, and prevent their making the utmost use of their working time. The effect of all this is to reduce the productive capacity of the plant, to lower the output and quality of its goods. . . .

It is the bounden duty of directors of factories, chiefs of locomotive yards and stationmasters to introduce and strictly maintain cleanliness in the enterprises under their charge. They must be called to account for all disorder. The director is responsible, and he must know how to exact equal responsibility from his shop superintendents. Why should not a system be introduced whereby when one shift goes off and another comes on the two superintendents take note of the state of cleanliness of the shop? . . .

Lenin time and again branded mismanagement, negligence, dirt and untidiness. He said that we could not possibly discharge our duty unless we waged war on the trustees of the traditions of capitalism. "We shall be ragpickers, not Communists," Lenin declared, "as long as we go on silently tolerating such factories."

Cleanliness and elementary order must be introduced and always maintained in our plants and on the railways.

This task of maintaining cleanliness and tidiness in our plants is one we must attend to immediately; simple and elementary as it is, it is one that brooks no delay, for unless there is elementary tidiness we cannot successfully cope with the task of further advancing our industry; unless there is elementary tidiness we cannot cope with the immense tasks that face our country in connection with the transition from socialism to communism.

The Soviet factory must be a model and example of cleanliness and good order.

Schedules of fulfilment of plant production programs. As matters now stand, comrades, the output of

finished product at most of our plants proceeds unevenly, spasmodically, and as a rule the bulk of it is concentrated toward the end of the month. What the plants lack is a fixed schedule of output of finished product drawn up in advance. . . .

This irrational system results in constant emergencies arising, in machinery and men standing idle, in the productive capacity not being utilized to the full, in increased spoilage and in wasteful expenditure or overtime. This irrational system keeps the plants in a feverish state and harbors the constant danger of the state plan not being fulfilled.

It is time to put an end to this lack of plan, to this uneven output of product, and to rush work, and to achieve an even fulfilment of the production program day by day, according to a preliminarily worked out schedule, in every mill, factory and mine and on every railway.

Some of the People's Commissariats are beginning to introduce a good system. Every day the directors of the factories inform the People's Commissar how much finished product was turned out the day before. Such reports, consisting of only one figure, make it possible to keep a day-to-day check on the work of the factories. They show at a glance which factories have deviated from the established schedule of output of finished product. They make it incumbent on the People's Commissar to ascertain promptly the reasons for the non-fulfilment of the daily plan and to take prompt measures for the removal of the defects revealed. . . .

Technological discipline. One of the most serious defects at our plants is poor technological discipline; the technology of the production process is not worked out in all its details; the approved blueprints are arbitrarily departed from, and designs are irresponsibly altered without careful tests having first been made. At many of the plants the established technological regime is arbitrarily violated, the treatment processes are altered, and the established tolerances are not observed. . . .

It is this lack of technological discipline at many of our industrial plants that explains why product of poor quality, in incomplete assortment, and not conforming to the established standards, is still being turned out.

The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of July 10, 1940, making it a punishable crime for industrial enterprises to turn out product of poor quality and in incomplete assortment and to fail to observe the established standards, has had its effect; nevertheless our fight for good quality of product still leaves much to be desired.

Many of our business managers regard the turning out of poor product, and the spoiling of large quantities of material by negligent workers with a criminal frivolity. These negligent workers are not held financially answerable for the goods they spoil.

The output of poor quality materials and spoiled finished goods interferes with the fulfilment of the production plans, disrupts the normal operation of our plants and greatly increases production costs. At many of the plants there is an absence of timely and efficient con-

trol to prevent the possibility of spoilage occurring. . . .

Technological discipline should mean that our workers, foremen and engineers learn to repeat a technological operation exactly the same way every time, without the slightest divergence, and to turn out products strictly conforming to the technical conditions and standards, each unit exactly like the other.

Every one of our industrial plants must turn out product of good quality and prize and cherish the honor of its trademark.

Comrades, we must see to it that the strictest discipline in technological processes is observed in our plants, that technological instructions are drawn up at every one of them, that strict supervision is instituted to see that these instructions are observed, and in this way secure the output of product of good quality, in propert assortment, and fully answering to the established standards.

New technique. Many of our industrial and transport executives do not appreciate the value of improved technique; they make no effort to perfect it, or to introduce the production of new kinds of machinery, materials and goods. Highly valuable inventions and improvements often lie about for years in scientific research institutes, laboratories and plants and are not put to practical use in industry.

The technical councils of many of our People's Commissariats have become mere auxiliary bodies that furnish opinions on minor technical questions, but do not seriously engage in the problem of introducing improved technique.

Some factory directors consult their own convenience and prefer to go on turning out the same articles and to stick to the old methods of production year after year, in spite of the progress of technology.

The designing of new types of product, as well as the organization of their serial production, proceeds all too slowly, drags out far too long. The result not infrequently is that a new article is put into serial production long after it has already become out of date.

Many talented designers do not receive the support they should from the People's Commissariats and plant managers, with the result that a good deal of their strength and energy is simply wasted. Yet experience has shown that if our designers are set definite problems to work on they cope with their task very well.

Advanced methods of production, the experience of progressive plants and shops and of our best Stakhanovites and innovators are put to practical use all too slowly, and in many cases simply ignored.

This conservatism on the part of a section of our plant managers hampers the further progress of industry, dooms the plants to backwardness and stagnation, and undermines the defensive power of the country. . . .

The task of our plant managers, designers, scientific research and laboratory workers, engineers, technicians, foremen and skilled workers is constantly to strive to perfect technique and to learn to produce new machines, materials and goods.

Our industrial and transport executives must utilize the vast potentialities of the socialist system to the

full for the advancement of technical thought and for the most expeditious application in industry of the latest achievements of technology. Special attention must be devoted to the question of improved technique, and unceasing effort must be made to perfect it and to produce new kinds of machines, materials and goods.

Production costs. Comrades, there are many facts which go to show that our industrial and transport executives have lost the habit of reckoning and calculating and saving every penny of public money as good managers should.

Our plants are suffering heavy losses owing to abnormal expenditures of fuel, unproductive use of raw material, excessive waste of valuable materials in production, and uneconomical expenditure of electricity. Such wasteful mismanagement strikes at the interests of the people. It is something absolutely alien to our socialist economic system, which demands the strictest accountancy and the economical employment of every penny, every ounce of fuel and raw material, every installation and machine.

The managers of many of our plants are accustomed to having everything supplied to them ready-made; they have forgotten all about cost accounting; they have become reconciled to violations of financial discipline and to mismanagement, and are not disconcerted by the fact that the material damage caused by their bad management has to be paid for by the state.

Cost of production is the principal index of the work of the whole plant. To be able properly to manage the work of his plant, a director must know the actual expenditure per unit of output as regards the main elements of cost—wages, raw material, fuel, electricity, amortization, overhead expenses—and must so guide the economic side of the activities of the plant as to fulfil the plan in respect to cost of production and profit without reservation.

The task is to put a stop to mismanagement, to take firm control of the economic side of the activities of the plants, and to utilize their internal resources to the maximum.

The cost of production of the finished goods must be systematically lowered, cost accounting must be firmly installed, and all waste resolutely eliminated.

Wages. Comrades, a proper system of wages is an essential condition for the advancement of industry. The underlying principle of our policy in the sphere of wages is to give the worker a material interest in the results of his labor. This principle is applied in practice in the form of piece rates for workers, bonuses for administrative personnel and preferential treatment of skilled labor as compared with unskilled labor.

The piece rates and the bonus systems are highly important means of increasing productivity of labor, and consequently of advancing our whole national economy.

But, in practice, we find that this underlying principle in the sphere of wages is often violated. A reprehensible system is frequently adopted: after good workers have been encouraged by the payment of better wages, the pay of those groups of workers who lag behind in respect to productivity of labor, who make no attempt to improve

their qualifications, and do not fulfil the standards of output, is artificially leveled up to that of the better workers.

We also find cases such as those which were to be encountered until recently in the coal industry, and which, for all we know, may still be encountered at some of the mines, when under-surface workers were paid less than surface workers. . . .

The task is to encourage the better workers and to put an end once and for all to the reprehensible practice of equalization in the sphere of wages. Factory directors, shop superintendents and foremen are obliged to raise the standards of output as more up-to-date machinery is introduced and the organization of production improved.

In the sphere of wages, comrades, it is essential to adhere strictly and consistently to the principle of furnishing material inducements for good work in the form of piece rates for workers and bonuses for administrative personnel, and of higher payment for skilled labor as compared with unskilled labor.

Unauthorized absences and arbitrary quitting of jobs. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of June 26, 1940, introducing an eight-hour day and a seven-day calendar week, and forbidding workers and office employees to quit factories and institutions without permission, has helped considerably to improve labor discipline at our plants.

However, comrades, in many mills, factories and mines and on many railways absenteeism is still by no means a thing of the past. Some of the leaders of the business, Party, trade union and Young Communist League organizations at the plants are not doing all they should to improve labor discipline. These leaders regard the struggle against high labor turnover and absenteeism as a transitory campaign, and have forgotten that unauthorized absences from work and arbitrary quitting of jobs are the cause of immense damage to the state, preventing the fulfilment of production plans and reducing the output of industrial goods. Absenteeism is the scourge of industry.

It is essential, comrades, to put a stop to absenteeism altogether.

One-man management. In spite of the explicit instructions of the Party, real one-man management has not yet been introduced at many plants. The orders of the directors are often not carried out, and the directors themselves do not exercise the rights vested in them and often take refuge behind the backs of the social organizations.

The director is fully answerable for the state of his plant and for the proper organization of work, and his orders must be obeyed. The director not only answers for the correctness of the orders he gives, but also for their prompt and accurate execution by the people whom they concern.

We cannot tolerate a state of affairs when a director, anxious to vindicate himself for the bad work of his plant, constantly declares that his orders were not obeyed, although those orders were correct and issued in good time. A director is obliged to know his subordinates, to verify the way in which his orders are carried out, and to replace disobedient and negligent workers by better and more efficient ones.

It is essential to enforce resolutely one-man management at our plants and to ensure that the director of a plant is the indisputable leader, fully answerable for the state of the plant and for the proper organization of production.

Better technical management. The work of our industry and transport services also suffers from the fact that in many cases engineers and technicians are not put on the right jobs and are not properly utilized.

We often find that there is an acute shortage of skilled specialists at the plants, in the shops, and so on, that is, where the goods are directly produced, while at the same time a large number of them are employed in the offices of the central and local business organizations.

We have figures available, comrades, showing the distribution among the establishments of the industrial People's Commissariats of 214,000 specialists with higher education and of 164,000 specialists with secondary technical education. These figures present the following picture as to how these specialists are allocated in industry:

Of the 214,000 specialists with higher education, 95,000 or 45 per cent, are employed in the various institutions of the People's Commissariats, 51,000 or 24 per cent, in the offices of industrial plants, and only 68,000, or 31 per cent, are working directly on the job in the plants.

Of the 164,000 specialists with secondary technical education, 41,000, or 25 per cent, are employed in the various institutions of the People's Commissariats, 41,000, or 25 per cent, in factory offices, and 82,000, or 50 per cent, directly on the job in the plants.

In the People's Commissariat of the Oil Industry only 20 per cent of the specialists with higher education are employed directly on the job; in the People's Commissariat of Power Stations only 16 per cent; in the People's Commissariat of the Coal Industry 27 per cent; in the People's Commissariat of the Fish Industry only 9 per cent; in the People's Commissariat of the Timber Industry 24 per cent.

We find a similar picture as regards the distribution and utilization of specialists with higher education in other industrial Commissariats as well.

This false practice in the utilization of engineers and technicians is harmful to our national economy and deprives our plants of proper technical management. It need only be mentioned, comrades, that, in spite of the large number of specialists with higher education employed in industry, when it comes to posts that should be filled by engineers we find that there is an extreme shortage of required specialists. . . .

The economic administrative apparatus, like the whole state apparatus of our country, is of tremendous importance. Here we need a certain proportion of skilled engineers and technicians. But it is absolutely abnormal when the staffs of this apparatus are inflated and engineers and technicians are employed in the offices and thus diverted from industry.

It is essential to correct these abnormalities in the allocation of engineers and technicians and to assign part of the specialists employed in the central and local business institutions to reinforce the

technical management of production at the plants.

The technical management of production at the plants must be strengthened to the utmost.

As regards young specialists graduating from the higher educational establishments, the system we should adopt is that each one of them, on completing his course, should be sent to acquire production experience at the plants; it should be compulsory for each of them to spend a certain period of time at practical work as assistant foreman, foreman, or shop engineer.

Foremen. Comrades, an important part in the establishment of proper order at our plants, in correctly organizing labor, and in ensuring strict technological discipline should be played by the foremen. . . .

The foremen should be relieved of functions which are not proper to them. The status of the foreman at our plants must be raised; he should be the direct organizer of production; he should be allowed to act as the indisputable leader of the branch of the process entrusted to him, fully responsible for the observation of technological discipline and for the fulfilment of the production plan in all its various items.

Such are the measures that must be adopted as regards the economic and political tasks of the Party organizations in order to eliminate the defects in the work of industry and transport.

IV. Organizational Tasks

Comrades, in order to cope successfully with the task of advancing our industry and transport we must substantially improve our organizational work in these spheres.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the stability and permanency of economic successes depend entirely upon the success of our Party organizational and political work—for otherwise our economic successes may turn out to be a house built on sand.

What measures must be adopted with regard to the organizational tasks of the Party organizations in order to eliminate the defects in the work of industry and transport?

First of all, in order to render better assistance to the People's Commissariats and to the industrial plants and transport services, we need in all cities, regions, territories and republics where industry is highly developed, not one, but several industrial secretaries of city and regional Party committees, corresponding to the main branches of industry existing in the given city, region, territory or republic, and, where necessary, a secretary for railway affairs and a secretary for water transport affairs.

As you know, at present only one of the secretaries of the city and regional Party committees devotes himself to industrial and transport affairs. Experience has shown that this is quite inadequate.

The draft resolution proposes to increase the number of secretaries of city and regional Party committees in charge of industrial and transport affairs. . . .

The best persons must be selected for these posts, men capable of delving into industrial and transport affairs in true Bolshevik spirit, and of effectively concentrating the attention of the Party organizations on industry and transport.

It will be incumbent on the in-

dustrial and transport secretaries to have a thorough knowledge of what is going on at the plants, to visit them regularly, and to keep in personal touch both with the personnel of the plants and with the appropriate People's Commissariats, helping them to fulfil the plans and to carry out the decisions of the Party relative to industry and transport, keeping a systematic check to see that they are carried out, disclosing defects in the work of the plants and striving to get them removed. . . .

Another highly important organizational task is to get the Party organizations to pay far more attention to the selection of the personnel employed in industry and transport.

First of all, it is essential to study and have at one's fingertips the executive, engineering and technical personnel of the industrial plants and the railways. Without such a study, and without such knowledge of people, it will be impossible to decide correctly and promptly how to replace unsuitable workers and to promote people of ability and initiative.

It is time, comrades, to put an end to the bureaucratic study of personnel from documents. It is time to put an end to the biological approach in the selection of cadres and to test people in action, to judge them by their work, and not be guided by questionnaires.

To this day, in spite of the instructions of the Party to the contrary, many Party and business bodies, when selecting personnel, are more concerned in ascertaining their genealogy, who their grandfathers and grandmothers were, than in studying their personal, business and political qualities and abilities.

The cardinal thing in the selection of cadres is the proper promotion of new forces. We must act more boldly in promoting good, efficient people, people with initiative and capable of handling a live job.

And it should be borne in mind that we are talking not only of the promotion of Party Bolsheviks, but of non-Party Bolsheviks as well.

Among the non-Party people there are many sincere and capable workers who, although they do not belong to the Party and have no Communist standing, nevertheless work better and more conscientiously than many a Communist of long standing.

Comrade Stalin has time and again scoffed at people who think that only Party comrades may be promoted to leading positions. Speaking at a conference of business leaders in 1931, he said:

"Certain comrades think that only Party members may hold leading positions in the mills and factories, and for that reason ignore and hold back non-Party comrades who possess ability and initiative, and advance Party members instead, although they are less capable and possess less initiative. Needless to say, there is nothing more stupid and reactionary than such a policy, if it may be called a policy."

While promoting capable men of initiative, timely measures must be taken to replace unsuitable, feeble, weak-willed people, windbags who are incapable of handling a live job.

It not infrequently happens that one of these useless, incapable windbags sits tight on a job, bun-

gling matters, year after year. Yet our People's Commissariats and regional and city Party committees calmly look on and do nothing to send this good-for-nothing about his business. . . .

It is time to show up this type of manager, comrades. Windbags, people incapable of handling a live job, should be relieved of their posts and placed on less responsible work, irrespective of whether they are Party members or not.

There is another type of business leader, comrades—the ignoramus. The ignoramus is the type who knows nothing and does not want to know anything. He does not study technique, has no use for improved methods, does not know the least thing about technology, and does not understand or wish to understand the economics of his plant. But, on the other hand, the ignoramus is as conceited as they make them.

The ignoramus is convinced that there is nothing he does not know and nothing he needs to study; and there is no force on earth that can convince him that there is something he does not know. . . .

An ignoramus like this will get himself appointed director of a factory, or superintendent of a railway, or to some other post, and refuse to listen to anything. You may talk to him about new methods, you may tell him that his technological process needs improving, or that cleanliness and tidiness are essential at a plant, but there he sits up to his neck in filth, confirmed in his ignorance, and refusing to listen to reason or advice. He doesn't need advice, he will tell you; he knows exactly what is wanted. What is more, he usually prides himself on his proletarian origin.

Naturally, it is no use expecting such a fool of a director to turn out new articles of better quality, or to adopt improved methods. Such ignoramuses, comrades, have to be exposed and sent packing. Ignoramuses cannot be tolerated at the head of a factory or in any leading post whatever. They will only kill the job.

But in order to be able promptly to replace unsuitable executives and promote new people who know their jobs we must correct the present state of affairs as regards the study, selection and promotion of cadres both in Party and business organizations.

In particular, there must be a decided improvement in the work of the Assistant People's Commissars in charge of cadres; they have been on this job a long time, but so far have shown very poor results. . . .

Comrades, another organizational question that has to be dealt with is that of the business and industrial *actives*.

It must be confessed that we have somewhat relaxed our attention to the *actives* of late. In many of the People's Commissariats this work has been dropped altogether and meetings of the *actives* are not called at all.

This is to no small extent due to the conceit of some of our business leaders.

They think they know everything and do not need to consult with their *actives* in order to benefit by the experience of minor executives, engineers, technicians and Stakhanovites.

Leaders like these fear to allow

scope for criticism and self-criticism.

They forget what Comrade Stalin teaches us.

You will recall that at the conference of Stakhanovites, Comrade Stalin thanked the delegates for the help they had given in their speeches and counsels. At this conference, Comrade Stalin said: "Can it be doubted that leaders who scorn this experience cannot be regarded as real leaders?"

The role of the industrial and business *actives* in the plants and in the People's Commissariats must be restored. The *actives* should play an important part in securing better utilization of the experience of minor business and Party executives, engineers, technicians and Stakhanovites. . . .

Now a few words about socialist competition and the Stakhanov movement. There is no need to dwell on their importance. All I want to say is that at many plants socialist competition and the Stakhanov movement are not being properly guided by the Party and trade union organizations. . . .

The Stakhanov movement must be developed to the utmost, and the initiative of the Stakhanovites must be directed toward increasing productivity of labor, solving the more important problems of production, and bringing the lagging sections of production into line.

And now the last question, comrades. At many of the plants the wrong practice still prevails of calling meetings and conferences of social organizations during working hours. . . .

It must be laid down once and for all that workers and office employees of plants and institutions may perform the commissions of public organizations only outside of working hours.

Such are the measures that have to be taken in the sphere of the organizational tasks of Party organizations in order to remove the defects in the work of industry and transport.

* * *

Comrades, our industry was and still is the basis for the development of our entire national economy. Industry was and still is the guiding factor in our whole system of national economy. It is industry that is responsible for the advancement of our entire socialist economy, including agriculture and transport. Industry was and still is the basis of the defensive power of the country.

The task is steadily and uninterruptedly to further the development of our socialist industry.

New and big tasks confront our industry and transport services in the year 1941. Things must be so organized that already in this year there shall not be a single lagging plant in any region, town or industrial center.

There must be no lagging plants in our industry. It is the duty of every mill, factory, mine and railway to fulfil its plan.

Striving to fulfil the plan, to ensure its fulfilment, to work according to plan means:

A. Fulfilling the annual, quarterly and monthly plans of output, not on an average, as heretofore, but systematically, evenly, in accordance with a schedule of output of

finished product drawn up in advance;

B. Fulfilling the plan not only on an average for the given branch of industry as a whole, as heretofore, but in every plant separately;

C. Fulfilling the plan not only on an average for the whole plant, as heretofore, but fulfilling in every day, in every shop, in every brigade, at every machine, and in every shift;

D. Fulfilling the plan not only quantitatively, but, in every case, qualitatively as well, all articles complete and in full assortment, observing all the established standards and the production costs stipulated in the plan.

We can, and must, in the immediate future, achieve further progress in our industry and transport.

All that is needed is that all our Party organizations and all our leading personnel in industry and transport should with Bolshevik determination immediately set about eliminating the defects in the work of industry and transport, and radically improve their efforts in this sphere.

We cannot content ourselves with the results already achieved and close our eyes to the big defects in the work of industry and transport. Toleration of these defects would be dangerous and pernicious.

We cannot tolerate the existence anywhere in our midst of smug satisfaction with the results already achieved, for this is a frame of mind that renders people tolerant and blind toward defects. It is a frame of mind that does not befit a Bolshevik.

A Bolshevik should always be irreconcilable toward defects, exacting toward himself and his work. That is what we are taught by Comrade Stalin.

In the eyes of a Bolshevik, the interests of the state and of his country stand higher than everything else. A Bolshevik must be disciplined in carrying out the decisions of the Party and the Government. The law is meant for all of us. We are all servants of the state. That is what we are taught by Comrade Stalin.

A Bolshevik must be an uncompromising foe of routine with regard to improved technique, new production and new methods. We must inculcate in our people a taste for mastering technique, we must advance people who are capable of harnessing technique, for without people technique is so much useless lumber. A Bolshevik revolutionary in technique and industry is one who is capable of breaking down obsolete traditions, of replacing them by others, and of moving ahead. That is what we are taught by Comrade Stalin.

There can be no doubt that our Party, following the recommendations of Comrade Stalin, and mobilizing the whole body of workers, office employees, engineers and technicians, will in a very short space of time achieve an exceptional degree of organization and the maximum productivity in industry and transport. Industry and transport should and will work considerably better; they will turn out produce in all branches in far larger quantity and of far better quality.

Under the wise and tested guidance of Comrade Stalin, the leader of peoples, our great country will move forward to new and decisive communist victories.

A YEAR OF REORGANIZATION IN THE RED ARMY

BY G. ZHUKOV*

IT IS with great joy and pride that the people of the Soviet Union are celebrating the twenty-third anniversary of the Red Army—the army which throughout its existence has defended the independence and state interests of the Soviet Union with honor. This anniversary falls at a time when the international situation is particularly tense.

There is not a single large capitalist country in the world today which has remained outside of the orbit of war. Even the U.S.A., which is formally not a belligerent, is in fact exercising a great influence on the war in Europe and Asia. The second imperialist war has spread to embrace the whole world. According to the Swiss *National Zeitung*, the population of the countries involved in the war amounts to 1,526,000,000 people. The Soviet Union alone continues to remain out of the war. The independent foreign policy of the Soviet Government, which has preserved peace for the peoples of the U.S.S.R., rests on the military might of the socialist state, which has been achieved thanks to the many years of effort by the Party, thanks to the genius of Lenin and Stalin.

The foundation of the military organization of the land of the Soviets was laid in the heroic years of the civil war. All that at the present time constitutes the might and pride of the Red Army is the result of its historical development, the result of the achievements of socialism in our country.

Personnel, armaments and military theory—these are the three cardinal questions for any army. In glancing over the pages of history we see what tremendous efforts have been exerted by the Party in these spheres since the very first days of the revolution, what unflagging attention Lenin devoted to these questions, what enormous energy Stalin invests in the work of organizing the Soviet armed forces.

Wherever the revolution was threatened with danger, wherever a strong hand was needed to introduce Bolshevik order, to strengthen, inspire and organize the units of the Red Army for victory, there one could always find Comrade Stalin. He rallied around himself forces utterly devoted to the socialist revolution, set high store by them, encouraged and trained them. On his initiative the Central Committee of our Party mobilized Communists for the army on numerous occasions.

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The Party sent its best men into the army, the finest sons of the working class and the toiling peasantry. It was in battle that they learned to direct and command troops. While learning themselves, they taught the young cadres of commanders. They traversed the thorny path of battle and of building up the armed forces of the land of the Soviets. Today many of them are generals in the Red Army. Beside them thousands and tens of thousands of young commanders, men of a new generation who have imbibed the heroic traditions of their older comrades, have risen to the fore. In the remarkable development of our commanding personnel we see what tremendous efforts the Party of Lenin and Stalin has put into the creation of a mighty Red Army.

The Party has always paid the utmost attention to the technical equipment of the Army. Beginning with the civil war, Lenin and Stalin exerted every effort to supply the Red Army with the requisite armaments. From the primitive weapons which were turned out by the hastily reconstructed plants in the time of the civil war, our socialist industry has advanced to a point where it is producing up-to-date types of arms which, both in quantity and in quality, meet the requirements of modern warfare.

"As a result of the successes in mastering new technique," reads the Resolution adopted by the Eighteenth All-Union Conference of the C.P.S.U. on Comrade Malenkov's report, "and the growth of the defense industry, the technical equipment of the Red Army and Navy with the latest types of modern armaments has considerably increased."

The military theory of the Red Army, which encompasses the fundamental questions of military training, the views on the nature of military problems and methods of solving them, has its roots in Marxism-Leninism. It has drawn on the experience gained during the civil war, has been particularly enriched as a result of recent campaigns and is developing today through a critical assimilation of the experience of modern wars. The founders of the military theory of the Red Army are Lenin and Stalin. The Red Army has its own military doctrine, which enables it to direct the growth and progress of the armed forces along the proper lines.

The reorganization that is taking place in the Red Army fully reflects our successes in building up cadres of commanders, in creating a material and technical base, and in evolving our military theory. Our commanding staff has progressed to a point where it is able to cope with the most intricate problems of modern warfare; our material and technical potentialities have become inexhaustible; our military theory is the progressive theory of the army of victorious socialism.

* * *

In recent years the strength of the Red Army has been put to the test in a number of military campaigns. Hassan was the scene of the first major armed conflict on the borders of the Soviet Union since the civil war. The brevity of this operation and its limited scope did not permit us to draw any major conclusions from it. At Khalkhin-Gol the So-

viet armed forces underwent a longer and more serious trial. The operations proceeded in circumstances that were unfavorable to us, at a great distance from the railways and the home bases. Nevertheless, the Soviet troops overcame all difficulties and succeeded in making efficient use of their materiel in accordance with all the rules of modern warfare. Our men proved their tactical skill by completely surrounding and destroying the enemy.

The armed forces of the Soviet Union went through an acid test in the war in Finland. Amidst forests, swamps and snow the Red Army clashed with the combined strength of the imperialists, who had converted the Isthmus of Karelia into a mighty fortified region, who supplied the Finnish Whites with the latest armaments and reinforced them with expeditionary troops in the guise of "volunteers."

Leading military experts who had built the Mannerheim Line had pronounced it impregnable. General Kirk stated that no army would be able to break through such a line. "In the modern shelters constructed on the Mannerheim Line the Finnish soldier is invulnerable," declared the Belgian General Badoux. And, indeed, the geographical advantages of the Karelian Isthmus plus modern engineering enabled our enemy to erect a formidable obstacle, which could not be outflanked, to the advance of our Red Army. Until that time the history of warfare had not known of a single case where such an up-to-date fortified region had actually been broken through. In this contest the Red Army was an innovator, making use of its powerful materiel in a new way and working out its own tactics of blockading and destroying the permanent fortifications. The only instance to date of breaking through a modern permanent military structure has been furnished by the Red Army.

"The breach of the Mannerheim Line," said S. K. Timoshenko, Hero and Marshal of the Soviet Union, "must be regarded mainly as an act of supreme heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the Red Army, and as the summation of the achievements that have been made in military technique and military science in our country."

But we would not be Bolsheviks if we allowed the glamor of victory to blind our eyes to the shortcomings that have been revealed in the training of our men. These shortcomings were the result of the conventionalism and routine that had pervaded our methods of training. They manifested themselves in the first period of the war, and naturally had an adverse effect on the operations. Their elimination helped the Soviet forces to discharge their duty to their country with credit and honor. For this the Red Army is indebted to the direct guidance and constant attention of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

From the very first day of its existence the Red Army has always felt the solicitous attention and guiding hand of Comrade Stalin. A great revolutionary strategist, he was the inspirer and organizer of great victories in the civil war. Comrade Stalin takes a constant interest in questions of the organization, armament, operative efficiency and training of the Red Army. Dur-

ing the fighting at Hassan and Khalkhin-Gol, his wise counsel helped the Soviet command to defeat the enemy. During the Finnish campaign, he followed every detail of the operations and directed the hostilities toward the speediest attainment of victory.

A leading role in gaining victory over the Finnish Whites was played by Comrade Timoshenko, who was placed at the head of the troops operating on the Karelian Isthmus by the Party and the Government at the beginning of January, 1940. Under the military leadership of Comrade Timoshenko, the forces involved in the hostilities passed through an excellent schooling. Through a practical study of every detail of the enemy fortifications and the terrain, and intense training to smash through them, the armed forces prepared for the victorious assault on the Mannerheim Line. It was here, on the Karelian Isthmus, that the idea was born and carried into effect of training the armed forces in conditions resembling service conditions as closely as possible. Today this idea has become the guiding principle underlying the reorganization of the entire system of training in the Red Army.

The old, faulty methods of training were rejected by the actual conditions of war. Our own experience and a study of the military operations in the West convinced us of the great demands modern warfare makes on the training and morale of the armed forces.

The international situation today compels us to be fully prepared at all times. It is a well-known fact that military science and technique never develop at such a pace as they do in times of war. In the course of the fighting all that is obsolete and ill-adapted to modern warfare is discarded and replaced by new and more perfect equipment and methods. The morale of the belligerent armies and their inurement to war conditions are very much heightened.

In order not to lag behind general development, we need a system of field training that will increase the proficiency of the troops and harden them with every day. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, the Government and Comrade Stalin, such a system has been introduced into the Red Army by Marshal S. K. Timoshenko in the course of the past year.

* * *

". . . In the history of armies," Stalin writes, "there have been cases when every opportunity for success and for victory was on hand, but these opportunities were wasted because the leaders did not see them, did not know how to make use of them, and the armies suffered defeat."

The leaders of the Red Army see our opportunities, gauge them accurately and persistently teach us how to make the most of them.

And we have enormous opportunities. They make it possible for us to organize battle practice in accordance with the requirements of modern warfare. It is not every army that has such opportunities. In order to have peacetime training approximate the conditions of modern warfare, the desire alone is not enough. It is necessary to have the material means to this end and,

in the first place, modern armaments. The achievements of the Stalin Five-Year Plans and the care which the Party and the Government devote to its equipment enable the Red Army to learn to operate their materiel in times of peace. The question now is to utilize this opportunity to the full in the training of the armed forces.

The defeat of the French army attracted the attention of the whole world. No few attempts have been made to unravel the "mystery" of this debacle. Today it is quite clear that one of the most important reasons for this catastrophe (from the purely military point of view) was the insufficient training of the French soldiers, their almost complete unfamiliarity with even the limited equipment which they had at their disposal in combating the enemy. At the maneuvers of the French army in past years, the deficiency in materiel was strikingly apparent. This equipment usually included a negligible number of the latest types of armaments and the men were trained either with no equipment whatever, or with obsolete equipment.

Of interest in this connection is the article by the German journalist Alfred Gerigk, "This Is How It Happened" (*Signal*, No. 12), in which the author cites a conversation he had with an officer of the 4th French Armored Car and Tank Division. "Four out of five men of the tank crew," the officer declared, "... had no more than three hours training in operating a tank, and this on a level road. Most of the tanks of the division were of a new type, just released by the factory, and the crew were not familiar with them." In the very first battle, out of 80 new "Somua" tanks, 67 were destroyed.

"I must tell you," continued the officer, "that this catastrophic loss was the result of a peculiar circumstance. The crews did not know these huge new tanks at all nor did our anti-tank units. They took them for German tanks! Our own anti-tank units destroyed them." This one example is sufficient to show how tremendously important it is for the armed forces to have the opportunity of learning the art of warfare with the latest models of airplanes, tanks and armored cars, to conduct their firing practice under service conditions, to train to coordinate the action of all arms, in other words, to make full use for training purposes of the entire materiel which will actually be put into play against the enemy.

This advantage, out of reach for many other armies, is enjoyed by our armed forces, which our socialist industry equips with the most modern types of arms.

The country supplies us with our materiel; it also supplies us with men capable of mastering this materiel in the shortest possible time.

The young man entering the Red Army today is a young man of a new type. Life and work in socialist society have not only prepared him to assimilate Soviet army discipline but have also fitted him for the efficient performance of his duties in the army.

In our industrial country, not only the workers but the collective farmers, too, grow up among machinery, become acquainted with machinery in their work. That is why they are quickly able to master the technical

end of their military studies, which is such an essential part of military science. The Soviet young man enters the army with faith in the power of machinery, and here this faith is strengthened in daily contact with fighting machines, mechanisms and weapons, and as he gradually acquires skill, his faith turns into mastery over this materiel. This is the foundation of the proficiency of the modern soldier.

* * *

We can make full use of our opportunities only if we succeed in organizing the training and education of our armed forces along the proper lines. It would be wrong to consider that the entire essence of the reorganization consists of lengthy route marches, digging trenches, etc. The flexibility of the new methods consists in that they adapt military training to the most rapid assimilation of all that is new in the experience of recent wars. And this requires the closest combination of good practical training with advanced theory, requires that the path of practical development should be illumined with the rays of theory.

The principle of "teaching the armed forces only what is done in actual warfare and only how it is done in actual warfare" rejects blind assimilation of outmoded principles, of doing things in a set way although in war they are done otherwise. This principle requires every commander to keep abreast of and analyze new developments in the military world. And the higher his rank the more profoundly he must study present-day military science, drawing all the necessary conclusions for changes in the training and education of his men. Progress, constant progress—this is what makes for successful military training!

"The Red commander," wrote M. V. Frunze, "must gain a thorough command of the methods of reasoning, of the art of analyzing phenomena, contained in the teachings of Marxism."

Of late there has been a considerable revival of interest in military theory in our army. Talks and debates on military theory, lectures and reports to the armed forces on military history and theory, the increased publication of literature on problems of present-day military science, the greatly increased attention of the army newspapers and magazines to current military topics —all this speaks of the development of theory, of the interest that is being taken in military science by the commanders as a whole. However, this should be regarded as only the beginning of that constant theoretical progress which is destined to give us good results in our training.

"Discussions on the major problems of military science have opened the way to bold individual and collective initiative, which is the foundation of military science and the art of war. . . . We have tapped a source of military theory which will thoroughly penetrate every fiber of our military organism." (S. K. Timoshenko.)

Close interaction of theory and practice will put us on the road to further successes.

* * *

The twenty-third year in the life of the Red Army will go down in

its history as a turning point, a year in which our system of military training was reorganized. The difficult and heroic path which the army has traveled since Feb. 23, 1918, the experience accumulated in building it, the wide scope of Party and political work have prepared our armed forces for this important step forward. In 1940 the authority of the commander was strengthened in the Red Army, the rank of general was introduced, the prestige and rights of the commanders were extended through the establishment of the complete and undivided authority of the commander, the discipline of the Soviet Army was raised to a higher level. This is the foundation for the success of the new system of training.

We have already made undoubted progress in the reorganization of military training. Systematic training under conditions approximating actual warfare has increased the tactical knowledge of the armed forces, steeled them, increased their fighting efficiency. However, we must never forget the warning that was given us by the People's Commisar of Defense, Comrade Timoshenko, that ". . . however great our successes, we men of the Red Army must never become boastful or rest on our laurels."

It is our duty to work still harder to introduce the new methods of training into all units of the Red Army. We must work and study still more intensely in order to carry through with credit the order of the People's Commissar with regard to training in 1941, which envisages an extensive program of mastering present-day military science.

We have everything that is necessary to carry out this program: splendid cadres, first-class equipment, and a progressive military theory. The Party and the people, sparing no effort to strengthen their army, have given it every opportunity for constant progress. Our thanks must be expressed not in words but in deeds, in our daily progress in our training.

The Central Committee of our Party and Comrade Stalin personally are following the reorganization in the Red Army, the course of the training, with the closest attention. They are rendering us every assistance and taking a lively interest in all our achievements. It is a matter of honor for us to justify this attention and confidence of the Party, of the Government and of Comrade Stalin.

The flames of the second imperialist war are rising ever higher around the Soviet borders.

"The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no 'accident' and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . ." (Stalin.)

The Red Army is boundlessly devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. Nothing can break its moral and political unity with the people. For the integrity and independence of its native land, for the Party, for Stalin, the Red Army is prepared to fight to the last man. Our devotion, our readiness to sacrifice our all for the great ideal of communism, demand that the high moral qualities of the Soviet Army be cemented with skill and training in the art of war.

THE NEW LIFE OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES

By G. KUZNETSOV

FOR decades the proletariat and peasantry of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania fought to achieve their liberation from the yoke of oppression and capitalist exploitation. The glorious revolutionary movement of the peoples of these countries led in 1918 to the proclamation of Soviet power throughout their territory. But the workers could maintain their power only for a short time. The bourgeoisie called the imperialist forces of intervention to their aid and drowned the revolution in these three countries in a sea of blood.

Twenty-two years have passed since then. The peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were groaning and pining away under the oppressive regime imposed upon them by the reactionary bourgeoisie. Cruel measures of repression, unemployment and disfranchisement, misery and starvation were the lot of the working people in these countries. Only in 1940 was Soviet power actually established in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The courageous struggle waged by the finest sons of these peoples had borne fruit. Already today, when Soviet power has been in existence but a few months, the new life to which the people have awakened is noticeable at every step. This new life consists in the socialization of the banks and industry, in the transfer of the land to the peasants, in the raising of the standard of life of the working people, in the growth of production, the abolition of unemployment, the rapid expansion of public education and of all cultural endeavors, and in the great political activity of the toiling masses.

* * *

In the Baltic countries the laboring peasants were ever in dire need under the rule of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry was mercilessly exploited by the banks and landed proprietors. Hundreds of thousands of them had not the tiniest patch of land to call their own. The best soil belonged to the landed proprietors. In Lithuania 63,000 big landlords and peasants owned 2,287,000 hectares* of land, while 248,000 peasant households possessed altogether only 2,040,000 hectares.

Similarly situated was the Latvian countryside, where 1,540 big farms comprised over a quarter of all the land while half of the working peasantry possessed only one-

* One hectare equals 2.471 acres.

tenth of the soil and the worst at that. In Latvia alone more than 150,000 peasants owned no land at all.

In former Esthonia, out of a total of 140,000 peasant households, 25,000 had no land of their own and had neither horses nor cows. About 40,000 peasant households owned miserable plots of land but most of these likewise had neither horses nor cows. By the end of 1939 the number of farm laborers in Esthonia had increased to 18.3 per cent of the total population. Agriculture was heading straight for ruin. Between 1932 and 1939 the population of the rural districts dropped by 33,500.

The reactionary governments shifted the heavy burdens of taxation onto the shoulders of the workers and toiling peasantry. In Esthonia, for instance, indirect taxes multiplied two and a half times in the period of 1934-38. Direct taxes rose 27 per cent in the 1939 budget.

The condition of the laboring peasantry up to the time of the establishment of Soviet power appears from a letter written by an Esthonian peasant which was published in the columns of the newspaper *Rakhva He'el:*

"We peasants were the slaves of the banks. For fifty-five years we would have had to pay the banks and only after this long period would we have become the owners of the soil which we have drenched with our sweat and blood. We had been given land but the capitalists took our entire crops away. Our bread was devoured by the magnates of finance, while we lived in darkness and misery."

For many decades the ownership of land was only a dream for the laboring peasants in the Baltic countries, a dream which could never come true under the rule of capitalism. Only the establishment of Soviet power put an end to the exploitation and disfranchisement, the poverty and distress of the toiling peasantry.

The Soviet governments of Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia declared the land and all its wealth state property, the possession of the whole people. They prohibited speculation in land and the auctioning off of peasant farms.

The laboring peasants were now freed from the tax burdens and fines to which they had been subject under the reactionary regime. In addition, their heavy indebtedness was canceled. Thus, for instance, the Council of People's Commissars of the Latvian S.S.R. abolished all unjust taxes and canceled an indebtedness of more than 100,000,000 rubles, if we include the abolished taxes. This measure relieved more than 115,000 peasant households of a large debt and tax burden. All debts incurred by the laboring peasants in connection with the so-called "land reform" were struck off.

Moreover, all arrears in taxes, compulsory deliveries and fines that were due and payable by the toiling peasantry and the farmhands on or before Jan. 1, 1940, were canceled. (This included taxes on land holdings, communal taxes, turnpike tolls, stamp taxes, taxes due on the conclusion of business contracts, payments for the maintenance of roads, administrative and

police court fines, general court fines and penalties, stipulated fines, fines accruing because of delayed information on inheritances, fines for the violation of local ordinances, for failure to comply with the rules for the compulsory supply of teams, for failure to register one's residence with the authorities, interest and fines for delinquent taxes, etc.). In addition peasants owning not more than five hectares of land were relieved of all their tax arrears for 1940.

In an incredibly short period of time, actually only two or three months, the Soviet governments of the three liberated countries carried through the nationalization of the land of the landlords, of the churches and monasteries, and achieved great results in the transfer of land to the toiling peasants.

In the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic more than 600,000 hectares of land that belonged to the big proprietors was confiscated and divided up among 71,000 toiling peasants. Thus it was from the Soviet government that 30,000 landless peasants finally received their plots of land, while 40,000 peasant households that formerly had owned no more than 5 hectares each were given additional land, raising their holding to ten hectares per household.

In the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, after confiscation of the land of the landlords, etc., about 500,000 hectares could be transferred to 47,000 landless peasants, while 23,000 small peasants received approximately 75,000 hectares.

By Dec. 15, 1940, approximately 25,000 landless peasants had received land in the Esthonian Soviet Socialist Republic and the holdings of approximately 27,000 small peasants had been increased.

The Soviet governments of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania gave this land to the peasants free of charge and for their perpetual use and enjoyment. They are devoting much care and attention to the effective development of the peasant farms on the newly distributed areas.

The Latvian government not only canceled the old debts and taxes of the peasants, totaling lately about 400,000,000 lits, but over and above this it appropriated 20,000,000 lits for the development of the peasant farms.

The Soviet government of Esthonia has assigned more than 7,000,000 kroons for the organization and rapid development of the peasant farms, and has canceled more than 50,000,000 rubles' worth of peasant indebtedness.

The Esthonian, Lithuanian and Latvian peasants are granted long-term credits for the purchase of farming machinery, implements and cattle, and for the cultivation of orchards and truck gardens.

A peasant from the village of Dargeichyu in the Lithuanian S.S.R. writes as follows in a letter addressed to Comrade Stalin:

"A broad road leading to a happy future has opened up before us. By its decision of January 6 the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic has returned to us the soil for which our fathers and grandfathers fought, and for which we struggled until the arrival of the Red Army. This problem which ministers were unable to solve in the course of sev-

enty-five years has now been solved by the Soviet government because it really represents the power of the people. Not only were we given back the land but the accumulated fines were canceled and many small farms were given land from the holdings of the former big landlords. For all this paternal care and attention we express to you, Comrade Stalin, our sincere gratitude and assure you that we, the new citizens of the land of socialism, will be worthy sons of the Soviet fatherland."

The large-scale industry of the Soviet Union is rendering enormous assistance in putting the agriculture of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania on a proper footing. Thousands of modern farming machines and implements were shipped to the young Baltic Soviet Republics. In many regions of these three Baltic countries machine and tractor stations are being established and these help the peasantry cultivate the soil according to modern principles of agriculture. Their output should reach a high level in a short period of time.

The laboring peasants will soon convince themselves, in view of the tremendous achievements of the collective farms in the rest of the Soviet Union, of the superiority of socialist agriculture. It is, however, left to their own judgment, to their own free will, whether they will continue to farm as before or will adopt the socialist form of economy. There is no compulsion here, no pressure is being exerted, but there is the ever-present glowing example of the prosperity and high cultural level of the collective farmers.

* * *

Soviet power has put an end to the economic and political disfranchisement of the working masses in the Baltic countries. The Stalin Constitution, which is now the fundamental law of the Socialist Republics of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, grants to the workers, peasants and intellectuals all the rights needed for the immediate reconstruction of the economic and political life of the country.

Among the outstanding achievements of the Soviet governments in these young republics are the measures taken to abolish unemployment. Already tens of thousands of former unemployed in the Baltic countries have received steady work under Soviet rule. In the Lithuanian S.S.R. 43,000 of the 70,000 unemployed had permanent jobs by the beginning of 1941. In Esthonia more than 15,000 people out of work had received steady employment by that time. In all the Baltic Republics the day is near when unemployment shall have been abolished once and for all. People who but a short time ago considered themselves slaves and beggars and eked out a life of starvation have now become complete masters of their own destinies.

The second decisive measure designed to improve the condition of the workers and professional people is the raising of wages. The average wage increase decreed by the governments of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania was 30 per cent, particular consideration being paid to the low-wage earners among workers and clerks. The increase received by the workers of the paper, paper box and food-products industries in Lithuania amounted to 35 per cent,

that of the workers in the textile industry to 30 per cent, in the leather and shoe industry 20 to 25 per cent, in the transportation and communications systems 15 per cent. Certain groups of brain workers (teachers, medical personnel, etc.), who were particularly exploited under capitalism, received particularly large increases; the salaries of primary school teachers were raised 40 per cent, of the lower medical personnel 50 per cent, of physicians 20 to 30 per cent, of agronomists 25 per cent.

That these sections of the intelligentsia in the Baltic countries suffered no less than other working people is proved by the speech of the Secretary of the Latvian Teachers' Union, delivered at a conference held under the old regime. He said in part:

"Provincial teachers suffer above all because of the irregularity in the payment of their salaries. Many teachers have not been paid for periods ranging from six to fourteen months. Some local administrations pay small advances of 2 or 3 lats. The position of many provincial teachers is so tragic that they are threatened with starvation. They have not even the means of buying black bread."

Such conditions have been abolished once and for all by the establishment of Soviet power. Not only have starvation wages and salaries become things of the past but the housing question too has undergone radical improvement. All big houses have been nationalized and there is much activity in the building of new dwellings. Many thousands of working people have moved into new apartments, have exchanged their miserable holes for decent living quarters. In Kaunas alone more than 400 working class families have been accommodated in new houses. They now have spacious rooms, their own kitchen and bath. In the small city of Panevekhise more than 150 families of workers moved from basement dwellings into new buildings.

Olga Tyshkina, a tobacco worker, who with her family exchanged a cramped and damp cellar dwelling for a comfortable warm apartment, wrote as follows in the *Proletarskaya Pravda* of Jan. 15, 1941:

"I am infinitely thankful to the Soviet government, which has made it possible for me to start leading a human life. At last I have been able to leave the damp cellar which was undermining our health. Only now a new, better and brighter future has dawned upon us."

The *Truzhenik* of Dec. 5, 1940, carries the following story sent in by a watchman of the Boston Textile Mill in Lithuania:

"During the last few years my family and I were literally suffering starvation on account of unemployment. All of us, my wife, I and our five little children slept at the houses of fellow workers while during the day we passed our time in the streets. When the Soviet government was established I received work at the Boston Mill. A new life began for us. We were given an apartment and now live in a new house built specially for workers. Our apartment has every convenience. We never dreamt that we would once live in such bright and warm rooms. Today I and all others of the formerly dispossessed know

that for us unemployment, starvation and misery have gone, never to return. . . ."

There are countless such examples. With the abolition of the miserable housing conditions that prevailed in the Baltic countries an outrageous injustice of the capitalist system has come to an end.

The third important measure passed for the improvement of the conditions of workers and professional people concerned the question of social insurance. In the Baltic Republics the Soviet state has assumed all obligations under the various forms of social insurance (sickness and maternity relief, old age pensions, relief in cases of disablement or loss of the supporter of the family; the maintenance of sanatoriums, rest homes, children's homes, medical consultation rooms, etc.).

The right to receive relief while incapacitated from work has been extended by the Soviet governments of the Baltic countries to all workers and to all employees of state, cooperative, public and private offices and organizations. The working people of Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia have begun to feel for the first time the far-reaching care of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government for the welfare of the people, and they are very grateful for this care and attention.

* * *

Only a short time has elapsed but already great changes have been wrought in the economy of the Baltic countries under Soviet power. The capitalist large-scale industry and commercial enterprises, the banks and the means of communication and transportation were nationalized and have become public property. In Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania all economic key positions are now in the hands of the Soviet government. Hence it has already been possible to begin the switching of the economy of these young republics to the track of socialism, to initiate the transformation of the Baltic Republics from backward agrarian countries into progressive industrial countries.

In the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic 24.3 per cent of all establishments have been nationalized. These comprise the country's largest enterprises, which are of decisive importance as they account for more than 84 per cent of the aggregate output of the country.

The national economy which the young Baltic Soviet Republics took over from the former ruling clique was antiquated and dislocated. Great efforts were necessary to establish order. It may now be said that the industry of the Baltic countries has already started along the road of progress and modernization. In these republics we witness not only a consolidation of the old branches of industry that have now been nationalized but big new industrial establishments are being erected. In the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic the Nova Verkovska Paper Mill, the Continental Tobacco Factory, the Vitrum Glass Works and a number of other enterprises have started operations.

The industry of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, now reorganized and functioning according to definite

plans, is making progress in the fulfillment of its production programs. In the Lithuanian S.S.R. there has been an increase of 153 per cent in the production of raw products by the local industry as compared with 1939; the textile industry manufactured 500,000 meters of woven goods during the last three months of 1940, that is, an increase of 150,000 meters over the same period in 1939.

These decisive successes are the result of the enthusiasm of the people of the young Baltic Soviet Republics. Being conscious of their freedom and of the fact that they have become the lords of the land, the people now work with zeal and zest, have acquired new strength and vigor.

A Latvian worker named Yakimovich describes the new life and the new conditions under the socialist system in the following enthusiastic terms:

"I aged early because of the five years that I spent in jail. When I finally was released I tried to secure work at the old Daugavpilsk railroad repair shop where I had been employed for nine years. But the only reply I got was: 'We don't take on people like you!' Other factories and shops also had no work for me. So for eight years I had to deliver bread. It was only after the plutocrats had been smashed that I was re-employed at my former place of work.

"Under the Soviet government a new life began, a life built on a new basis. The foreman of the blacksmith shop where I worked, Beckmann, this beast in human form who trampled upon human dignity and would even spit in the faces of the workers, has been driven from his post. Puriev, an avowed White Guard, is also gone from the smithy. The air is now purer and people can freely fill their lungs. The workers display unwonted zeal in taking possession of the new Soviet life.

"Almost every day popular lectures are delivered for the benefit of us workers. Our womenfolk do handicraft work in the clubs. Numerous theatrical groups, choruses, sporting and other circles have been organized there. The workers as well as their families receive free medical treatment. For the first time in their lives sick workers are sent to sanatoriums.

"In our shop the ventilation has been improved and cleanliness is being insisted upon. We work eight hours today, as against ten and twelve hours before.

"The workers no longer have to bear the tyranny of their former foremen; the ghost of unemployment has vanished and wage cuts are a thing of the past.

"The attitude of the workers to their shop and their work is now quite different. This change in attitude can even be expressed in figures. The wages of molders were increased last August 13.3 per cent, of the mechanics in the locomotive works 46.3 per cent, of the turners 28.4 per cent, of the blacksmiths 62.7 per cent, and so on. In every department of our workshop output has increased by 20 to 40 per cent and more.

"Stakhanovite workers have already made their appearance in the Daugavpilsk railroad repair shops. Kaminsky and Vishner increased their labor productivity 115 per cent; Smagars and Garkul achieved increases as high as 245 per cent. The names of these Stakhanov workers are on the lips of everyone. Crooked backs are straightening out;

freed from exploitation, the people are developing initiative, have found the way to free and unexploited toil."

Working for the first time for themselves, for their young and beloved native land, the working people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are giving proof of what man is capable of when emancipated from the slavery of capitalism. The spirit of socialist emulation is rapidly spreading in the factories and mills. The foremost among the workers are beginning the multiple operation of machinery. The Stakhanov movement is on the increase in the factories and mills.

In the Kauna-Mudinei Mill (Lithuanian S.S.R.), the Stakhanovites Bodgoniene, Koverovaita and Minzaita now operate 924 spindles as against 610 before; other Stakhanovites, like Gusbiene Konotshiene and Sakalauskiene, have started to serve four looms each.

A new socialist attitude toward work is rapidly developing among the working masses in the Esthonian S.S.R. In the Baltic Cotton Mill output increased 24 per cent in one month, while wastage decreased from 2.5 per cent to .05 per cent. The successes recorded at this mill are due to the rapid spread of the Stakhanov movement. Already 115 weavers operate six looms each, while a yarn mill reported that twenty-five Stakhanovites have increased the number of machines they operate simultaneously from three to five and six.

In the Latvian S.S.R. more than 730 industrial establishments and government offices joined in the socialist competition initiated in honor of the anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution, which means that about 80,000 workers and office employees participated in this contest. Their example was followed by quite a number of other establishments and institutions. The competition held in honor of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. was participated in by 318 additional establishments comprising 47,000 workers. Already there are hundreds of Stakhanovite workers in the republic, while shock workers are counted by the thousands. The names of many of them are well known to the entire nation.

The establishment of Soviet power in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania has opened up wide perspectives for the development of the economies of these Baltic countries. Suffice it to state that in the Latvian S.S.R. appropriations in 1941 for the development of national economy were five times as great as the maximum appropriations for corresponding purposes during all the preceding years. Compared with 1939 the output of the cotton weaving mills in the Latvian S.S.R. increased fourfold, of the machine-building industry two to threefold, lime production fivefold and brick production twofold. The following increases are planned for the output of the food products industry in 1941: meat 79 per cent, canned fish 77 per cent, sugar 31 per cent, etc.

The Lithuanian S.S.R. has every prospect of witnessing vast industrial development during the fiscal year of 1941. The output of cotton goods is to increase by 300 per cent, farming machinery by 150 per cent, the manufacture of coke by 50 per

cent, the woolen mills by 50 per cent, while in 1941 the production of lime will increase by 3,925 per cent, of bricks by 277 per cent, and of lumber by 472 per cent.

Soviet power has freed the productive forces in the Baltic countries from their capitalist fetters and has cleared the road for their complete and all-sided development. Even the first successes achieved in the expansion of the national economies of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are proof of the enormous superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

The tremendous assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, this mighty industrial country, to the young Baltic Soviet Republics makes it possible for them to become industrialized at an accelerated pace. These new Soviet Republics will not experience the great difficulties that had to be overcome in the process of industrialization of the Soviet Union.

* * *

Soviet power has also made it possible for the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania to attain a higher cultural level. While capitalism ruled the Baltic, education was the privilege of the possessing classes. For tens and hundreds of thousands of boys and girls of working class origin education was but a passionate yet unattainable wish. According to the official data of Latvia's former capitalist government illiteracy was as high as 12 per cent, though primary education was compulsory. Under bourgeois rule the children of the working people had to drop school after an attendance of only two or three years, due to strenuous living conditions. In Latvia, out of every hundred pupils who attended the first grade, 85 attended the second and 76 the third grade, while only 39 were in a position to complete the elementary school.

With the establishment of Soviet power and of the Stalin Constitution the working people of the Baltic countries received every opportunity of fostering public education and culture. The Soviet governments of the three Baltic states declared education to be compulsory irrespective of age. The governments of the Baltic countries abolished tuition fees in schools and higher educational institutions and took upon themselves the payment of all other expenses for educational purposes. At the present time much is being done to liquidate illiteracy and to complete the elementary education of the population. To this end many new schools are being built. In the Lithuanian S.S.R. 580 new schools are scheduled to be constructed in urban and rural areas. In the Latvian S.S.R. 100 new schools have been opened and 66 new technicums and trade schools erected.

Everything is being done to promote education and culture. New libraries, reading rooms, clubs, theaters and moving picture houses are being established. Lithuania is to have 150 new libraries, which will double the existing number. In Kaunas preliminary work is in progress for the opening up of a new children's theater, a Jewish theater and a theater for light operas. In Vilna, a Polish and a Jew-

ish theater, a light opera house and four children's theaters are to be inaugurated. New theaters are also being built in various provincial towns and county seats. The circulation of newspapers, periodicals and books is increasing rapidly. The newspapers published in the Lithuanian S.S.R. are to reach an aggregate circulation of 900,000 in 1941, while a total of 2,300,000 copies of books are to be published.

The Soviet governments are likewise improving the sanitary conditions. In Lithuania, the government has provided for a doubling of the number of hospital beds in 1941. The sixty kindergartens now existing are to be increased this year to 1,020. In Lithuania alone the 1941 plan calls for the appropriation of 25,000,000 lits for public health purposes, whereas formerly three to five million lits used to be assigned for this purpose.

This short survey of the life of the working people in the Baltic Soviet Republics shows that the establishment of Soviet power has brought to fruition the boldest hopes of millions of people who but recently were groaning under the yoke of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

The working people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania express their gratitude to the Soviet government by increasing production and taking an active part in political life. Thousands upon thousands of workers, peasants and professional people displayed great political activity during the preparations for and the course of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The workers, clerks and peasants formed thousands of agitational groups in the factories and mills as well as in the countryside which rendered great assistance to the new Soviet citizens of these young republics in the study of the Stalin Constitution, the most democratic constitution in the world, and of the electoral mechanism. At the same time the election campaigns in the three countries provided a good political schooling for the masses. The numerous agitators and agitational groups not only enlightened the masses but enlisted many of the working people in the performance of the social work and governmental functions.

More than 150 university students were included in the agitational groups in Latvia. The actors of the Kaunas State Theater and members of its ballet and light opera formed fifteen agitational groups. The peasants of Evargadenski Voloti supplied 95 agitators and assistants. Many thousands of Bolsheviks with and without Party cards considered it their duty to assist in assuring the victory of the Party and non-Party bloc at the elections to the Supreme Soviet. It need only be pointed out that, for instance, the cultural committee of the trade unions in Kaunas arranged more than 350 election meetings and talks during one month of the election campaign. At these meetings and talks more than 50,000 workers and office employees heard addresses on the Stalin Constitution and the electoral system.

The working people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania picked their candidates for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. very carefully. Hence the deputies elected are

among the finest representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the professions. They fully deserve the great honor bestowed upon them by their work and their struggle on behalf of the people.

Who are these deputies? Let us mention a few.

Gusbiene, a Stakhanovite working woman who nominated the well known weaver Budzhinskiene to the position of deputy from the Lithuanian S.S.R. to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., stated:

"Jadwila Budzhinskiene was not to be intimidated by the reign of terror that was raging throughout the land. She became a member of the Red Aid and took an active part in the Party organization that existed illegally at the Kauna-Mudinei Factory. Jadwila is well acquainted with the life of our country, our sad past and our bright and joyous present. Today she is in charge of the Stakhanov brigade which has been awarded the Red Banner for its excellent work. She is one of the best Stakhanovite workers of the Republic which she will represent with great credit."

The peasants of the Valmiersk Region of the Latvian S.S.R. proposed as their deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities a non-Partyite named Karlis Gobsem who had formerly been a farm hand. When Karlis Gobsem learned of the great trust which the people placed in him, he declared:

"Tonight I have been given an object lesson in the real significance of the Stalin Constitution. Just imagine! Is there any other country in the world where a simple peasant has a real chance to be elected to the highest legislative body in the country?"

And, in fact, only in the Soviet Union the workers and peasants have the opportunity of being promoted from bench or plow to some high government or administrative post.

Among the deputies elected by the Lithuanian people are eleven workers, four peasants, three writers, two teachers, three Red Army men, one professor and eleven government or Party employees.

The deputies elected by the Esthonian people include many prominent people of the republic. Among them are Kruusi, Ansip and Lukhakiev, Stakhanovites and shock-brigade workers, Ivan Savin and Eni Plekseni, outstanding peasants, and Professor Nuur, the writer Jakobsonn and other representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia.

In the Latvian S.S.R. thirty-two deputies were elected to the Supreme Soviet. Their number includes a 64-year-old scientist, Professor Kirchenstein, and Hilda Mesis, an 18-year-old member of the Young Communist League. It includes the head of the government, Comrade Lacis, as well as simple workers, such as Comrades Koltan and Chakare.

But the most important point is that they are all infinitely devoted to the Party of Lenin and Stalin and to their native country, and are giving honest service to its people. Many of them have spent long terms in jail for political offenses, but their will to fight for socialism, for the prosperity of their people, has not been broken. Many of them have suffered the keenest privation

their whole life long. Among them you also find young people, equal members of Soviet society, who originated the Stakhanov movement in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. We find among them also well-known scientists, writers and peasants with progressive views. All of them have shown by their deeds that they are loyal to the cause of the working people: some by their active struggle against the oppressors, others by their outstanding scientific work and still others by the leading part they play in production. The deputies have gained the confidence of the people by their fearless and unselfish revolutionary work in production, their labor heroism and their socialist attitude toward work.

On the 12th of January the working people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania voted unanimously for the candidates of the Party and non-Party bloc because Soviet power in a few months' time had brought about fundamental changes in the life of the peoples of the Baltic countries. All the wealth of these countries had become the property of the people. A start had been made in the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Thousands of unemployed had been given work. The laboring peasants had received land and great material assistance. The workers and office employees had been granted increases in wages and salaries. The working people had been given the right to receive free medical aid, while attendance at schools and higher institutions of learning had also become free of charge.

The peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania voted for the candidates of the Party and non-Party bloc because they knew that they were voting for Soviet power, for the further prosperity and well-being of the whole people of the young Baltic Republics.

J. Lukht, a farm-hand from the Luislena Region (Esthonian S.S.R.) had formerly neither land nor home. He was compelled to find lodging with friends for himself and the nine members of his family. None of the landed proprietors would give him work. Only with the advent of Soviet power did he become a citizen enjoying the ordinary decencies of life. Under the Soviet government he received land and an apartment in the house of a landed proprietor. The toiling peasants elected him a member of the Election Commission:

"Soviet power," says Lukht, "gave us all the rights of a citizen and a human being. We are now the lords of the land. There is no power in existence that could deprive us of the rights we have been granted. I am taking part in the work of the Election Commission and am doing all in my power to see that the elections result in a victory of the Party and the government."

L. Rjutel, a peasant from the village of Tareoski (Esthonian S.S.R.), a former farm-hand and today chairman of the local administration, wrote as follows in connection with the impending elections:

"I worked on the estate of one of the big proprietors ever since I was a boy. From early dawn till late at night I used to drudge to add

to the wealth of the rich and to earn a crust of bread. I was completely dependent on the will of my employer. He exploited me in every way he could. We working folk had no rights. The law was always on the side of the rich. Now the Soviet government has liberated us from the former rule of tyranny and rightlessness. Soviet power is our power. Let us all endeavor to justify the care and attention which the Party and the Soviet government display on our behalf. Let us all march in a body to the polls and cast our vote unanimously for the candidates of the Party and non-Party bloc, for the loyal sons and daughters of the Esthonian people."

Comrade Cherneikos Raulas, a weaver, wrote as follows to the election commission of the 54th election district of the city of Kaunas:

"My wife and I will cast our votes for the Party of the Bolsheviks, for Comrade Stalin and for the finest sons and daughters of our people, for Comrades Snechkus and Budzhinskiene. I would like Comrade Stalin and the whole Soviet people to hear our voices, I would like the whole world to know for whom Soviet Lithuania is voting. In casting my ballot I vow that in spite of my 52 years I shall take my place in the ranks of the Red Army, if need be, to deliver our foes a blow that will cause the whole world to tremble."

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. recently held in the Baltic countries have shown that the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are loyal to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. The Party and non-Party bloc received 96 per cent of the total vote in the Esthonian and Latvian S.S.R. and 90 per cent in the Lithuanian S.S.R. These figures are more eloquent than anything else in attesting the fact that the young Soviet Republics in the Baltic are rapidly proceeding along the new road they have entered.

As early as January, 1918, Lenin mentioned the fact that the Soviet system enjoyed the sympathy and the strong, immeasurable support of the vast majority of the population, and that therefore the Soviet government was invincible. These words uttered by this great genius of mankind have now again been confirmed by the action of the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These peoples of the Baltic Soviet Republics have proved that they are ready to make common cause with the other peoples of the great Soviet Union in the struggle for the building of communist society.

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